

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
OF THE
IRISH REBELLION,
IN THE YEAR 1641.

EXTRACTED FROM
Parliamentary Journals, State-Acts,
And the most Eminent
PROTESTANT HISTORIANS.
Together with an APPENDIX,

CONTAINING
Several authentic Papers relating to this Rebellion,
not referred to in these MEMOIRS.

In a Letter to WALTER HARRIS, Esq;
OCCASIONED BY

HIS Answer to a late DIALOGUE on the Causes,
Motives, and Mischiefs of this Rebellion.

“ Away, then, with the antichristian spirit of defending what hath been done amiss, only because it hath been done; and of discrediting the Catholic Religion, as if it would not suffer its children to be dutiful and loyal subjects to Protestant kings and princes: And let what was done in violation of the laws and government (in this Rebellion) be acknowledged and excused to the king, by the distemper and accidents of the times, and the unjustifiable proceedings of those who were, unhappily, intrusted with the administration of Justice and Polity.”

Clarendon's Hist. of the Irish Rebell. sub finem.

L O N D O N :
Printed in the YEAR M.DCC.LXV.

I have always hated the Immorality of Adulation; yet deemed it extremely proper, in dedicatory Addresses, to give due Praise, in Order to exhibit (as Patterns for the Imitation of others) the Pourtraits of those few dignified Personages, whose Felicity it is, by their Virtues and Endowments, to bestow more Lustre to, than they derive from, Birth and Titles. But You have commanded me to forbear saying any Thing in this Epistle, of Your Ladyship, by Way of Panegyric: Had You not been pleased to lay me under this Restriction; yet, a Consciousness of my own Inability would have with-held me from attempting to delineate a Character, which I must only admire.

I have the Honour to be, with the most profound Respect,

MADAM,

Your Ladyship's

much obliged and

most obedient

humble Servant

M. R.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IF the Author of the following Memoirs, had proposed to himself no better End than the Detection of a mercenary and injudicious Compiler of historical Fragments, he would surely have no great Title to public Favour: His Merit, at best, would be inconsiderable; but he had a nobler and more interesting Object in View. Like the candid Writer (*a*), who undertook this important Subject before him, he wanted to instruct the present Age, by a Retrospect to the Virtues, to the Vices, and even to the Follies of the Age immediately preceding it. On a Review of our History, from the Conquest to the late Revolution, he found the Calamities of the Nation invariably flowing from public Mis-rule, barbarous Manners, private Interests, and the Rage of Parties. He saw this Rage far from being abated by those Changes in Religion, which set *Europe* in a Flame, during two successive Centuries. He discovered

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(*a*) See a Book, intituled a Dialogue upon the Rebellion in 1641; published A. D. 1747.

popular Phrenzy, vague Principles, and the Lust of Dominion, mingling early with our ecclesiastical Contests ; and that the Christian Doctrine, which fatally had so little Influence before those Contests began, had *so much less* after their Commencement ; that *Protestants* and *Papists*, Churchmen and Puritans have not scrupled, on almost every Occasion, to load their Adversaries with odious Crimes, and still more odious Principles ; some indeed too enormous to be avowed by any Party, and yet some too common to all, but conspicuously so to *each*, as *each* could, by Fraud or Force, obtain the dangerous Power of giving the Law and the Gospel of the Times. This was not all. He beheld also this Torrent of Party-rage driving the strong and the Weak equally before it, and the ablest Men of every Denomination, as little capable of resisting the Ignominy of perverting Truth in the Heat of public Animosities, as the *Compiler* abovementioned, or any other Retailer of historical Scandal *like him*, so long after every such Animosity subsided.

To give a true Idea of these Facts ; to shew, by the Use made of them, how long we have been the Dupes of shameful Prejudices, for the sole Gain of those who imposed them, to our own Undoing ; to root up such Distinctions as have ever operated to Mischief, and to restore that Harmony which it hath at all Times been the Purpose of *Party* to break, was the chief Design of the candid Author of the following MEMOIRS. This, I say, was his true Motive. The Writer he opposes had evidently another ; a shameful, and (it is to be hoped) an impotent Design to spread Hates, perpetuate Rancour, and oppress the Living by the Abuse of the Dead. With real Sorrow we find ourselves obliged to make such a Charge ;

Charge ; and the Circumstances in such a Writer's Case must be the more aggravating, if notoriously he should be employed at the public Expence, for other and better Purposes ; not to *mislead* his Countrymen by scurrilous Invectives, or *poison their Minds* by ecclesiastical Slander ; but to *heal* Divisions, remove ill-grounded Prejudices, and detect Error by a *fair* Circulation of historical Truth.

To extenuate the known Guilt of any Party, or applaud the Mis-rule of public Oppressors, is equally the Aversion of the Gentleman, who presents us with the following MEMOIRS, and of the DIALOGUE Writer he defends. It may be proper, in this Place, to open the Source of those Party and national Evils, to which *both* have confined themselves.

The Conquest of *Ireland* (as it is called, improperly enough) was effected in the Days of Barbarity and Ignorance. This Nation, long wasted by its own aristocratical Confusion, and little mended by the too weak Monarchy erected on its Ruins, yielded to a foreign Government, planned on the *Guilt*, and introduced by the *Fraud* of one of the national Chiefs. Our People changed from bad to worse : Instead of *Protection*, they found a wanton Exercise of *lawless Power* : Instead of Peace, a merciless War made upon *human Nature*, for three hundred and fifty Years, without Intermission : Instead of *clement Governors*, purchased at the Expence of *exorbitant Possessions*, a Set of truculent Free-booters, who *denied* the Natives the Benefit of the *English* Laws, and of *all* Law. Thus hath this Nation been treated ; and, thus delivered over to utter Excision, no Wonder if a People *so devoted*, sought Redress in frequent Insurrections. As far as the cruel State of Anarchy

established amongst them permitted, they sought and found some Redress in Resistance. They made Efforts to regain the Blessings of Liberty and Government, by the Means of Force, when they found it vain to seek those Blessings by any other ! In Truth, all the little Happiness they enjoyed, for near four hundred Years, they owed to the sad Expedient of Insurrection alone !

It may be well worth the While to consider, that this State of Things was not owing to the Inhumanity of *one* ecclesiastical Party against *another* ; but to the Inhumanity of *Papists* against *Papists*. It shews how little the *formal Identity* of Religion is sufficient to secure human Race against human Treachery ; and it can only be said of *Religious Conformity* (whenever the *Spirit* of Religion itself appears extinct) that it is a less Evil in the World, than *Religious Discord*, since the true Purposes of Treachery, or the Pretensions of Zeal, can be detected with much more Certainty in the *first* Case, than in the *second*. To oppressive Governments a different Mode of God's Worship (good or bad) is, generally, almost *all* Crimes in *one*. This makes the Solution of all moral as well as political Evil extremely easy ; and here, and (I think) *here alone*, Oppression finds the most *compendious Justification* of all its Measures. *This*, the first Oppressors of *Ireland* wanted : They, therefore, through the Want of *such* a Justification, were obliged to charge to the peculiar Perverseness of the *Irish* Nation, what they could not charge to *their* Religion. In that ridiculous Pretence they justified all their Outrages. The Pretences in Difference of *Nation* can never impose long : Those in Difference of *Religion* are of greater Duration and of worse Consequences. But, even these

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Consequences, mischievous as they are, must surely operate less towards public Misery, whenever Knowledge and national Wisdom co-operate to bring *their Causes* under a closer Examination, than they have hitherto undergone. *Religion, good or bad, is the best Test we have for the Probity of Men.* Its Votaries, through the Seduction of some, and ignorant Zeal of others, may, at some Times, and in some Circumstances, torture the sacred Text to defend ill-taken Measures and unsound Principles. But such an Evil is *temporary*, and Government may, if it pleases, find Means to separate the *sound Grain* from the *Cockle*. It is the Duty of Government and the Perfection of Patriotism to do so; and whenever this Duty is attended to, the ignorant Zeal and unsound Principles here referred to, will gradually lose their Force. The transient Effects of transient Policy will cease; and, if Union on the *Tenets of Religion* cannot be obtained, yet an Union on *civil Principles* may; to such an Union no good Governors will be an Obstacle; nay, they will be active in making the Discrimination here contended for. Let us indulge ourselves in the well-grounded Hope, that such will be the Conduct of our present Rulers; and the more, as Prejudices on the *one Side* are *no longer retained*, and as Prejudices on the *other* are *no longer lucrative*. Experience, Knowledge, and common Sense, must be surely lost upon us, if we persist any longer in charging Religion with those Deviations, *which it teacheth us in the most precise Terms to detest and condemn!*

Our Morals and common Interests want such a Reformation. Religion should cease to be a *Crime*, and Punishment should not reach those who are guilty of *no other*. Until People, whose Principles are reconcileable to our civil Establishment,

are trusted with constitutional Immunities, *Ireland* cannot be happy; because half the People will be rendered *useless* or *hurtful*, by *too many* Restraints. Laziness, Dissatisfaction, and Despondency, the Offspring of Insecurity, will generally prevail; nay, the very Industry of the People, thus punished, will be turned against the State. It will only beget a flux monied Property, the Proprietors of which will seek out and find Stability for it *Abroad*, when none is granted *at Home*. The Land will be thinned of Men and Money, to *strengthen our Enemies* and *weaken ourselves*.

At the Period, when *spiritual Hatred* mixed with our former national Distinctions; the Perverseness so long imputed to the *Irish*, as a People, was no longer charged on their *Nature*, but on their *Religion*. Every social Duty became *then* confined *within* the Pale of ecclesiastical Party, and every Species of Treachery was placed *beyond* it. *Real Crimes* were disowned by *one* Faction; many *imaginary Crimes* were imputed to *another*. The Crimes in *both Cases* were *exaggerated*: And, to compleat the Iniquity of those Days, the Gospel of Peace was tortured to avow the *Measures*, and sanctify the Drunkenness of every governing, as well as of every *opposing* Set of Men. This is the Truth of the Matter, and thus it fared with our ill-fated Predecessors.

Queen *Elizabeth*, whose Reign began with this ecclesiastical Rage, had admirable Talents for Government. To plant civil Order in the Place of that Mis-rule, which disgraced the three preceding Ages, was difficult but not superior to her Abilities. Her Interest led her, and the Success of her Father and Brother encouraged her, to change the established Religion in *England*. This she effected: But the Truth must oblige us to confess, that *the*

new Church was reared on the Foundation of Persecution. The Change was made by a sudden Effort of legislative Power ; but without that *Moderation*, which Time, rather than human Wisdom, exerts in Establishments of this Nature. By the Change, *one Party* in the Nation was ruined, *another* provoked. *Papists* were punished ; and, in the Notion of Party-justice, this Procedure appeared equitable : But the *Puritan-Protestant* was punished *also* ; and the Clamour ran high, that spiritual Tyranny was only *revived* in a *borrowed Shape*, and *new Habiliments*. The Party for a *comprehensive Reformation* grew popular, and increased every Day in Strength and Numbers. The *new Church* created Enemies to itself on all Sides, while it was rigorously extirpating the *old* : And thus it happened that the System of civil Policy, which received *late* y so many Improvements, was, in a great Degree, unravelled by the *ecclesiastical*.

The Queen saw and lamented all this. The Law she passed for the Advantage of an *episcopal Party alone*, she had it not in her Power to repeal, without new-modelling her Parliaments ; and thereby exposing herself to the double Danger of provoking her *Friends*, and trusting to those she deemed her *concealed Enemies*. But she interposed her Policy, and not seldom her Authority, to moderate Matters so *between both*, as to render her Reign quiet at Home, as it was glorious Abroad. The persecuting Laws were relaxed in the *Execution* ; but the Evil itself remained ; and, like those Diseases which affect first in the extreme Parts, it operated strongly in *Ireland*, where the Majority of Men of Property opposed *any religious Change*. This gave Rise and Pretext to Mis-rule of every Kind, so far that even Seneschals of Counties exercised plain Tyranny over the common People ;
and

and such particular Severities were then inflicted, even in the Opinion of the Lord Deputy himself, as were sufficient to drive the best and quietest States into sudden Confusion. In Fact, her Majesty became so sensible of this Tyranny of her Governors in Ireland, that she was once heard to say, on Occasion of some Insurrections, that she feared the same Reproach, which had been formerly made by *Bato* to *Tiberius*, "It is you, you that are to blame" for these Insurrections; who have committed "your Flocks, not to Shepherds, but to Wolves." -----A feeling Expression *this*, of royal Goodness; such as could proceed only from a Heart endued with those tender Sensations, which alone can derive Lustre to the royal Virtues!

If it be true, (b) that the Right of being subject only to such Laws, as receive our own Consent, is so inherent to all Mankind, and founded on such immutable Laws of Nature and Reason, that it is not to be aliened or given up by any Body of Men whatsoever: If this, I say, be true, (and it is now universally allowed to be so, in these Kingdoms) certainly there might be much more said, in Alleviation of the former Insurrections of the *Irish*, than even the *least prejudiced* of their Enemies seem willing to confess: For, their own contemporary Writers unanimously affirm, and the Nature of the Thing itself verifies the Assertion, that those penal Laws against the Exercise of their Religion, (which were the main Incentive to every Insurrection in Ireland, since the Reformation) were originally framed in England, but strenuously opposed and rejected by the *Irish* Parliament. That this was the Case of the famous Statute of *Uniformity*,

(b) *Molyn. Case of Ireland.*

mity, in the second Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, (to say Nothing of the first Act of Supremacy, against which much more might be said) is manifest, from what Sir James Ware himself has left recorded of it: For he tells us, that, “ In
 “ the very Beginning of that Parliament, Janu-
 “ ary 12, 1559, most of the Nobility and Gentry
 “ were found so divided in Opinion about ecclesi-
 “ astical Government, that the Earl of Sussex,
 “ Lord Lieutenant, thought proper to *dissolve them*,
 “ so early as the Beginning of the following
 “ Month; and that he went over to England,
 “ to consult her Majesty about the Affairs
 “ of the Kingdom.”-----that, “ in a few
 “ Months after, his Excellency returned to Ire-
 “ land, where he received Orders from her Ma-
 “ jesty to call an Assembly of the Clergy, for the
 “ *Establishment of the Protestant Religion, &c.*”
 which Assembly seems to have ended as abruptly
 and unsuccessfully, as the Parliament had before
 done: For the same Writer informs us that,
 “ among the Bishops, William Walsh, Bishop of
 “ Meath, not content with *what Offers her Majesty*
 “ *had proposed*, but very much enraged, after the
 “ Assembly *had dispersed themselves*, was for preach-
 “ ing against the Book of Common-Prayer, first
 “ imprisoned, and afterwards deposed, *by Order of*
 “ *her Majesty:*” And “ these Alterations in
 “ Church and State,” continues Sir James Ware,
 “ did so affect the Roman-Catholics in Ireland, es-
 “ pecially the Natives, that they rose up in a great
 “ Body under Shane O Neill, and rebelled against
 “ her Majesty.”

Yet, even these Natives, if we may rely on the
 Testimony of one, who was by no Means partial
 in their Favour. “ would gladly continue in the
 “ Condition of good Subjects, without Defection,
 or

“ or adhering to any other Lord or King, as long
 “ as they might be *protected* and *justly governed*,
 “ without Oppression on the *one* Side, or Impunity
 “ on the *other* : For,” proceeds Sir *John Davis*,
 “ there is no Nation of People under the Sun,
 “ that doth love equal and indifferent Justice bet-
 “ ter, than the *Irish*, or will rest better satisfied
 “ with the Execution thereof, *although it be against*
 “ *themselves*, so as they may have the Protection
 “ and Benefit of the Law, when upon just Cause
 “ they deserve it.”

On the Establishment of the *Reformation* under
 Queen *Elizabeth*, we have observed, that *one* Party
 was punished without *Mercy*, the *other* (and per-
 haps *both*) without *sound Policy*. This Evil of Per-
 secution encreased in the *two succeeding Reigns*;
 when the three Kingdoms, for the first Time,
 were subjected to one Sovereign. The *Scots*, at
 length, sought Redress in Insurrection; and the
 Parliament sitting at *Westminster* approved of their
 Conduct. The *Irish*, finding Affairs thus em-
 broiled in *Britain*, and dreading the *worst* from the
republican Spirit now plainly beginning to avow it-
 self, entertained the thought of availing them-
 selves of the present Opportunity, by shaking off
 the Bondage they groaned under for forty Years
 before, to mount no higher : But they meant to
 compass this *End* by *legal Means*.

The Resolution they took was justifiable. They
 bore ministerial Invasions of the most grievous Na-
 ture, ever since the Demise of Queen *Elizabeth*.
 The Lands they peaceably possessed, for several
 Ages, were, in the Court-Casuistry of that Age,
 pronounced *invalid* and *alienable* Tenures; even
 without any Crime of Treason or Rebellion.
 They were more than threatened with the Loss of
 the Estates left them by their Ancestors, *through so*
many

many *Successions*, and ascertained by *as firm a Right*, at least, as any *Royal Charter* could or can give. Upon this Foundation, many ancient Families were ruined; the rest thrown on the Brink of *Despair*. This was not all: --- The Court-Harpies, growing impatient at the passive Conduct of the old Proprietors, attempted to provoke those unhappy Men to Rebellion, by exercising the most galling Tyranny over their Consciences, by fining, imprisoning, and punishing, in various Shapes, such *Papists* as refused to join in the *established Form of Worship*.---Here, then, we see how the Natives were alarmed, in regard to Property; and how tortured by *spiritual Inquisitors*, for not submitting to those Church-Forms, which no *civil Government* on Earth has a *Right to impose*!---They, surely, who vindicate the Rights of the *Scots* to Insurrection, in the Year 40, cannot, with any good Grace, condemn that of the *Irish* in the Year 41: We do not defend *either*: But we venture to assert, that *He*, who, at this Time of Day, should advance, with my Lord *Clarendon*, that the *Irish* had no civil or religious Grievance whatever to complain of, during the forty Years antecedent to that Period, has but a wretched Alternative in his Option between his *Dis honesty* and *Ignorance*, between the Contempt and *Pity* of his Readers.

We have said, that the *Irish* wanted to redress Grievances by *legal and constitutional Means*, and Truth will warrant our saying so. They were firmly attached to our *monarchical Form* of Government: They were loyal to the reigning Prince, notwithstanding the Unworthiness of his Deputies, who betrayed *Him* and *Them*: They gave him the highest Demonstrations of their Affection, by their Representatives in Parliament. What then provoked to the desperate Measures which many took soon after?---The Answer is ready: They found
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the King's honest Intentions *frustrated*, by an Adjournment of that Session, *contrary to the King's own Order* : They found, in that Proceeding, how the Lords Justices *leagued secretly* with the *Puritans* in *Westminster* : They felt the Hands of their Enemies at Home and Abroad *strengthened* ; those of the King *weakened*. A Part, therefore, not all, rose up in *Ulster*, and sought Relief in Resistance ; what evidently the Continuation of the Session, and the passing some parliamentary Bills into Laws, according to his Majesty's Desire, might have prevented. To this Treachery, therefore, of the Lords Justices, all the Murders and Massacres, which ensued, *ought* principally to be ascribed. It would be injuring the Reader, to anticipate here, by any minute Detail, what is handled at large, and with so much cool Candor in the following MEMOIRS. There, the Reader will find that Kind of Conviction, which is ever attended with an adequate Degree of Mortification ; with that honest Concern, which arises from the *Suppression* of those historical Truths, wherein capital Offenders receive their Punishment, when out of the Reach of every other.

My Lord *Clarendon* was, doubtless, a Nobleman of great Abilities ; but very unjust at the same Time to the *Irish* Nation. The History of the civil War in *his own* Country, he has written with Force ; and, in the general, with sufficient Justice. His Affection to the *Puritans*, as Friends to civil Liberty, is *evident* ; his Aversion to them, as Rebels, *moderate* ; his Partiality to the royal Party, *far from being indiscreet*. If we have nothing to admire, we have nothing to censure, in such a Conduct : But, in Representations, wherein *spiritual Hatred* comes in Aid of those *Prejudices*, which were before *national* ; he no longer is Master of himself

himself or his Subject. He yields, a *willing Captive*, to such Informations as were correspondent to his *prior Ideas* of the People he undertakes to describe : And, giving us his *first* rather than *second* Impression of *them*, we can *hardly* persuade ourselves that he was *conscious* of any Untruth he delivers. History, in *such Hands*, is neither *better* or *worse* than what the Writer is *willing* to make it, according to the Degree of his Partiality or Aversion : And he must have little Knowledge of Men, who knows not, that this Species of human Weakness is but too often an Ingredient in some of the *best*, as it always is in the *worst* Characters. Like a cancerous Excrecence on a beautiful Face, it grows *not seldom* out of our *fairest* Principle : And the more luke-warm either the spiritual or party Zeal in *such Cases*, the nearer a Man approaches to the Character of a *true Patriot* and good Citizen. If *religious Indifference* were at all laudable, it would be in the Instance before us ; but there is a *STRENGTH of Mind* superior to this Indifference itself, which gives all the Qualifications necessary to compleat the *good Man*, as well as *judicious Historian*. This *STRENGTH*, my Lord Clarendon, and several other great Men (*Protestants and Papists*) wanted. As Describers of *former Times*, they may, possibly, give us a *fair Copy* ; but as *Contemporaries*, they are *intolerable*. Of all Men, they are the most *liable to Deception*, and the *most laborious to deceive*. The Mischief they circulate, is in Proportion to their Abilities, and that Rank in Life which renders those Abilities *conspicuous*. Indeed, if they did no *other Injury* than furnishing such Writers as Mr. Harris with offensive Weapons, the *Harm* would not be *great* : But their imposing on Men of equal or superior Talents to themselves, is a *real Misfortune*. The *Detection*,
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therefore, of such *pre-engaged* Historians is a *real Service*, and the *best* which a Writer, so well informed as the Author of the following candid LETTER, can do the Public.

It is certainly to be lamented, that so able an Historian as Mr. *Hume* (c), (one no Way *influenced* by this wasting *spiritual-Zeal*) should be so far led *astray*, by my Lord *Clarendon's* Authority, as to *transfer* the greatest Outrages of the fatal Year 1641, from the *original* and *real Authors*, to the unfortunate IRISH *alone*; who, for forty Years before, have suffered all the Torture of a cruel Bondage of Mind and Body; A *Wound* from *such a Hand* is, in a great Degree, fatal. The *self-detected* Libels of a *Temple*, or a *Borlase*, could contribute *as little* towards it, as the anniversary *Preachings* of Men, whose Profession requires a more than ordinary Degree of Charity and Truth---But Mr. *Hume* is still alive, to *repair* the Injury he has done: It is incumbent on him to do so. A great Genius lays on his blackest Colours with a just Indignation, where *he thinks* they are most merited; and as he may possibly hurt the *Living*, by the Odium cast on the *Dead*, Humanity as well as Justice will arrest his Hand from offering *more* of such an Injury, than historical Truth will strictly warrant.

God forbid! we should *revive* the Memory of those Times, except in the Spirit of the learned Author of the following LETTER. We do it to *instruct*, not to *misrepresent*; to *pacify*, not to *slander*. We have freely condemned the Conduct of *Roman-Catholics*, before the Reformation. We do not mean to *justify* it, since that Time, in any
blameable

blameable Case. We commend their patient Sufferings, in *every Instance* ; their Outrages in *none*. We applaud their *Zeal*, where it was attended with *Knowledge* ; and their *Knowledge*, only where it was attended with *Virtue*. We heartily applaud their Conduct, since the *late Revolution* ; and take great Pleasure in our Conviction, that the penal Laws take their *best Effect* in crowning those Virtues, which, in Fact, are the Production of painful Sufferings, not of Power or Wealth ; and by such Conduct may they recommend themselves to the *good Will* of their Superiors, while they disarm the Ill-will of their Enemies !---Why should not this be the Case ? We live in Times, when Justice is administred *according to Law*, without *Distinction of Party*. Every Person, who is happy enough to survive former Grievances, finds, in the present Reign, a Comfort like that, which succeeds to the Terrors of a mighty Tempest : Our State-Bark is now safely moored ; and whatever many suffer by Restrictions of Property, yet every Subject has a full Toleration to exercise the Religion of his *Conscience*. Can *this* be said of those Times, when Men were *tortured* to exercise a Religion *against* it ? Were Insurrections in those Reigns such mighty Wonders ? Or will not their Infrequency be the *chief Matter of Wonder* with impartial Posterity ?

Thus far we are right : Whether we are so, in returning to Mr. *Harris*, before we conclude, will, we are sensible, be a great Doubt with our Reader. A few more Words may, however, be *necessary*, in Vindication of the Gentleman who wrote the following LETTER. It is but proper he should be before-hand with *baffled Calumny*, and cut off its only *Subterfuge*, in *such a Circumstance*, that of charging the Author of these Memoirs with *sinister Intentions* : But Mr. *Harris* should know, that no

honest Man, *Protestant* or *Papist*, of the *present Age*, is concerned in the Conduct of *Protestants* or *Papists* of any *former Age* of a very *different Character* ; otherwise than by *contrasting* the Causes and Effects in the *one*, with those in the *other*, and thereby removing any ill Impressions the Public may still retain, in regard to Times so very *different* from our *own*. This is placing a proper Mirror before the Reader, and improving our Minds and Manners by the Truth of the *Representation*. The Author of the *pretended ANSWER* to the *DIALOGUE* can, therefore, take no Advantage of the *LETTER-Writer*. Both he and the Author of the *DIALOGUE* condemn and sincerely detest the Rebellion of 1641, and the Massacres committed in it. The Flame spread from *Scotland* into *England*. It communicated itself to *Ireland* : And if the *Papists* of this Kingdom did not *lead*, yet they *followed* the Example. However, *all* Parties might mean well in the *Beginning* ; yet *all* were criminal in the *End*. It is a Justice to charge none with *more Cruelty* than they were guilty of : And whatever Share the *Irish Papists* had in the tragical Phrenzy of the Times, it is *unfair* to charge it to their *Religion* (unless it were, in Fact, such a Religion as Mr. *Harris*, or rather the Writer he *steals* from, *represents* it). The *LETTER-Writer*, by setting these Matters in a *clear Light*, does a Public Service ; and cannot, in a more effectual Manner, recommend himself to those *Protestant* Readers, whom it is his highest Ambition to please ; the *Wise* and the *Candid* ; the Lovers of *Liberty*, and the Lovers of *Truth*. To *them* he appeals with great Confidence, to all the World with great Benevolence.

It may be necessary to add, that there is, at least one Half of this voluminous *Answer* of Mr. *Harris's*, which the *LETTER-Writer* is not obliged, by the Nature

Nature of his Undertaking, to animadvert upon : Because it consists of *general* Misrepresentations of both the religious and political Principles of *Roman-Catholics* ; and because it exhibits *unfair* and *partial* Accounts of some Rebellions *previous* and *impertinent* to *that*, which is the Subject of the present Debate. But we cannot help acquainting the Reader, that this *honest* Writer hath literally *transcribed* these Misrepresentations from a Book, intitled, “ A Discourse concerning the Laws ecclesiastical and civil made against Heretics,” and that he has not been *ashamed* to vend these false Wares for his *own*. It may be necessary to add further, that the Calumnies, contained in this literary *Theft*, have been long since exposed and solidly refuted by several Writers of the *Roman-Catholic* Persuasion, particularly, by my Lord *Castlemain*, in his *Catholic-Apology* ; and by *Peter Walsh*, in his *Letter to the Bishop of Lincoln*.

To *confound* Times and Things, is making the worst Use possible of History : Until we can make the proper *Distinction* between them, civil and religious Prejudices must prevail, to the utter undoing of a Country, so peculiarly circumstanced, as to be incapable of a Moment’s Happiness, without the *mutual Co-operation* and *Concord* of its People. The Wisdom of *knowing* and *pursuing* our proper Interest lies within the Reach of the narrowest Capacity, and within a very narrow Compass. It requires, one would think, but very little Information to be *convinced*, that “ the *Papists* of “ the present * Age are not to be *paralleled* with “ those who kept our *English* Ancestors in an *almost continual State of Warfare*. That, in the

“ Beginning of the Reformation, they had the
 “ greatest Stake in this World to struggle for, the
 “ Religion *then* established in *Ireland*, and the
 “ Power, together with the Possessions, of their
 “ Fathers ;” neither of which Cases doth, or can
 exist at present. Their Insurrections, in the
 Reigns before the *Revolution*, were, for the most
 Part, the Contentions of *Distress* with *Arbitrary*
Power. Insurrections in the *present*, would be
 Efforts of *impious Treachery*, against a *lawful* and
protecting Government ; the *Defiance* of the most
 awful Institutes of God and Man. The *Ro-*
man-Catholics, it is true, lie now under the
 Lash of several penal Laws, and are exposed
 to many more : But these Laws have long since
 received a *constitutional Ratification* ; and their Re-
 ligion commands *Obedience*, not *Resistance*. They
 have as little the *Inclination*, as they have the *Right*,
 to seek any Alleviation of their Sufferings, but
 what they can obtain from the mildest of Kings at
 the Head of a wise Parliament.

August 17, 1757.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS, &c.

I N A

L E T T E R

T O

Walter Harris, Esq ;

S I R,

I N Return for the gross Abuse, which you have *so liberally* bestowed on the Author of the DIALOGUE, and for your frequent *wilful* Misrepresentations of his *Design* in publishing it; He has desired me to acquaint you, That, instead of being affected by *either*, in the disagreeable Manner you *intended* he should be, he is pleased to find, on the Perusal of your Pamphlet, that it is the *Strength only* of his Arguments you are angry at; and that the Consciousness of your *Incapacity* to give *satisfactory* Answers to *them*, was the sole Incentive to all that *impotent* Malice, which you

you have vented against him, and against that Religion too, of which you have, without any apparent Grounds, supposed him to be a Member.

To *demonstrate* this *Incapacity* in you, is the Task I have undertaken for him; which I doubt not but I shall perform to the Satisfaction of every *unprejudiced* Reader. And for that Purpose, I am content to undergo the no small Drudgery of culling out, from your strange Huddle of Impertinencies, whatever relates to the present Controversy, and carries with it the least Colour of Reason or Probability: But, before I engage in this troublesome Business, I think it proper to inform the Reader of the real Occasion of the writing and Publication of the DIALOGUE itself.

During the *Scottish* Rebellion in 1745, such (a) *virulent* Pamphlets were dispersed all over the Kingdom, against the Principles and Practices of *Roman-Catholics* in general, and of those of *Ireland* in particular, as would certainly, at that Juncture, have brought into imminent Danger, not only the Peace and Property, but also the Liberty and Lives, of these People, had not the great Wisdom and Lenity of the (b) Government frequently interposed. And if, in Truth, these People were such Monsters of Cruelty and Rebellion, as they were *then* represented, I should not have thought them worthy to be suffered to breathe the same Air with any of the human Species. But, as the *Irish* Rebellion in 1641, was the Topic mostly urged against them in those Pamphlets (and that too with such stupid Malice, that the (c) Writers of them seemed to call for Vengeance on the innocent Catholics then living, for Crimes committed by their An-

Author

(a) Farmer's Letters. Seasonable Advice to Protestants, &c. &c.
&c. (b) Earl of Chesterfield Lord Lieutenant.

(c) Farmer's Letters.

cestors so many Years *before they were born,*) the Author of the DIALOGUE then felt, for the first Time, an earnest Desire to make himself acquainted with the Melancholy Transactions of those Times ; And, as there were no *Roman-Catholic* Authors, that he knew of, who *professedly* treated of that Insurrection, he carefully turned over the *Protestant* Writers on that Subject, of the best Reputation for Veracity among *Protestants* themselves ; being resolved to know the very *worst* of the Charge that was brought against the Persons concerned in that Rebellion.

He did besides imagine, what he has since found to have been the Observation of a (d) noble Writer, and true in Fact, “ That a small
 “ Gleam of Light, borrowed from foreign Anecdotes, serves often to discover a whole System of Falsehood ; and that even they, who
 “ corrupt History, frequently betray themselves
 “ by their *Ignorance* or *Inadvertency* ; that when
 “ Histories and historical Monuments abound, even those that are false serve to the Discovery of
 “ Truth : For that, inspired by different Passions, and contrived for opposite Purposes, they
 “ contradict, and contradicting, they *convict*, one
 “ another.”---All this, I say, the Author of the DIALOGUE has found to be true, by reading over *Temple*, *Borlase*, and *Clarendon*, on this Rebellion : For, the *last* of these Writers breathes Nothing but Loyalty to the King, and Indignation against both the *English* and *Irish* Rebels : The *first* plainly intimates his Affection to the Rebels in *England*, and suffers just so much seeming Loyalty to drop from his Pen, as was necessary to his main
 Design

(d) Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Use of History.

Design of blackening most effectually the *Irish* Rebels ; And, as for *Borlase*, who has botched up what he calls an History, from pilfered Parcels out of *both*, he is a perfect Mungrel, sometimes of one Party, and sometimes of the other ; but always inconsistent with himself.

It was from this Contrariety and *Collifion* of Sentiments and Accounts, in the Writers of this Rebellion, that those Sparks of Truth were collected which you now see in the (e) *DIALOGUE*, and which were originally intended for the Collector's Review only ; but they were, a few Years after, hastily put together in their present Form, to be privately printed for the Emolument of a Gentleman then in some Distress ; which Emolument, after all, fell very short of the Donor's Expectation. And thus the Author of the *DIALOGUE* candidly accounts (and hopes to be excused) for the many Inaccuracies that are in it ; particularly, for two wrong Quotations, upon which, although quite *immaterial*, you have grown intolerably vain and insolent, as having really no other Foundation, but that sandy one, to build your huge Pile of an Answer upon.

You, Sir, (who have made almost *one third Part*, of that Answer a needless Preface to the other *two*) ought not to be offended, if I detain you a little longer from the main Point of Controversy between us ; in order to shew you, upon what *goodly* Authority you and your Fellow-slanderers have grounded your dreadful Charge of Cruelties, pretended to have been committed by the *Irish* Rebels : For which Purpose, I will here more particularly exhibit the Characters of the original Relaters of them ; namely, Sir *John Temple*, *Roger*,
first

first Earl of Orrery, and Doctor *Ed. Borlase*, as they have been impartially drawn by that eminent *Protestant* Historian, the reverend (f) Doctor *Nelson*.

That candid Writer, after assuring us, that “ the then Lords Justices of *Ireland*; *Parsons* and *Borlase*, did by their Authority *command many Things*, which did not only *exasperate*, but render’d the *Irish desperate*,” adds, “ It is no less notorious that Sir *John Temple*, in writing his History of this Rebellion, was bound by *Confederacy* to assert, the Proceedings of these Lords Justices : And I cannot, says he, find him *highly in Reputation* with the Usurpers of the parliamentary Faction, and by them *impowered as a Commissioner to impose upon the Protestant Subjects of Ireland*, that traiterous, disloyal, and *solemn League and (g) Covenant*, which was a direct Oath of Confederacy, not only *against*, but purposely to ruin and destroy the King, the Church, and the loyal Party ; I cannot observe his Book to be printed in *London*, by *public Allowance*, in the Year 1646, at a Time when no Books were *licenced*, but such as made Court to the *prevailing Faction of the Usurpers*, or which might be helpful to support these Calumnies *against his Majesty*, especially *as to the Irish Rebellion* ; without too just a Suspicion of his *Integrity*.”

“ The late Earl of Orrery cannot escape the like Suspicion, with any Person who considers him exerting the Talent of his Eloquence, in persuading the notorious Rebel, *Cromwell*, to establish his Usurpation, by *fixing the royal Diadem*

(f) Introduction to the 2d Vol. of historical Collections.

(g) November, 1643, the Parliament of England ordered the Solemn League and Covenant to be taken in Ireland. Ware, p. 180.

“ dem, the imperial Crown of these Realms, upon
 “ his infamous Head. Nor is it possible to look
 “ upon him as an impartial Writer, who, in the
 “ blackest of Times, rendered himself, by his Ser-
 “ vices to the Usurper, so notoriously conspicuous
 “ to the three Kingdoms; being, during that
 “ gloomy Scene of our gracious Sovereign’s Ba-
 “ nishment, LORD PRESIDENT of Munster in Ire-
 “ land, PRESIDENT of the Council in Scotland, and
 “ in England a Lord of the other House, in one of the
 “ Usurper’s mock Parliaments: And, to instance in
 “ another of his Titles, though not so illustrious,
 “ he was Agent for the Fanatics established by CROM-
 “ WELL, in the Estates of the IRISH, who, repenting
 “ of their Folly, had served his Majesty against the
 “ English Rebels, at the Time when he writ that
 “ Treatise, so warmly answered by Peter Walsh.”

“ As for Doctor Borlase, besides the Nearness
 “ of his Relation to one of the Lords Justices, and
 “ his being openly and avowedly a Favourite of the
 “ Faction, and the Men and Actors of those
 “ Times; he is an Author of such strange In-
 “ consistency, that his Book is rather a Paradox, than
 “ an History; and it must needs be so: For, (I
 “ know not by what Accident) the Copy of the
 “ Manuscript, written by the Right Honourable
 “ the Earl of Clarendon, happening to fall into his
 “ Hands, he has very unartfully blended it with
 “ his own rough and unpolished Heap of Matter;
 “ so that his Book looks like a curious Embroide-
 “ ry, sown with coarse Thread upon a Piece of
 “ Sack-web: And truly had he no other Crime,
 “ but that of a Plagiary, it is such a sort of Theft
 “ to steal the Child of another’s Brain, that may
 “ very well render him suspected not to be over-
 “ stocked with Honesty and Justice, so necessary to
 “ the

“ the Reputation of an *unblemished Historian* : But
 “ it is far more unlawful to castrate the lawful Is-
 “ sue of another Man’s Pen, and thereby disable
 “ it from propagating *Truth*, and to *teach* it to
 “ speak a Language, which the *Parent* never in-
 “ tended. And yet, this is the Case of Doctor
 “ *Borlase’s* History, in which he has taken great
 “ Pains to *expunge* some, and *alter* many *Passages*,
 “ which he thought were *too poignant* against his
 “ *Favourites*, or spoke *too much* in *Vindication* of
 “ *his late Majesty and his Ministers.*”

Thus writes the learned and reverend Doctor
Nelson, in the Introduction to his *Historical Collections* : In the carrying on of which Work, so far
 as it relates to this Rebellion, (*b*) he had the Hap-
 piness to be assisted by his Grace, *James, Duke*
of Ormonde, “ whose Part, (says he) in the chief
 Management of the troublesome Affairs of that
 miserable Nation (*Ireland*), as it must therefore
 render them intimately known to him ; so the
 great Character of *unspotted Loyalty and Honour*,
which is so undeniably his Grace’s Due, will supersede
 all Manner of Dispute of the Integrity of the Re-
 lation.”

Let us now, *Mr. Harris*, if you please, come
 to the Point in Question : In Order to which, I
 will lay before the Reader a brief Sketch of those
 shocking Accounts, which have been hitherto most
 confidently given us, of the Rise, Progress, and
 Mischiefs of the Rebellion.

We are told, by the best Authority on your
 Side of the Question, that “ the *Irish Papists* in
 1641, were so far from being provoked to re-
 bel, by any Hardships imposed upon them by the
 Government, that (*i*) the State of their Affairs,

D

both

(*b*) Introduction to Historical Collections, *ib.*

(*i*) Clarend. Hist. Ir. Reb.

both spiritual and temporal, was *then*, and for many Years before, as *quiet* and *happy* as they themselves could reasonably wish it : That the *whole Nation* enjoyed an *undisturbed* Exercise of their Religion : That, even in *Dublin*, where the Seat of the King's chief Governor was, they went as *publickly* and *uninterruptedly* to their Devotions, as *he* went to *his* : That whatever their Land, Labour or Industry, produced, was *their own* ; being free from Fear of having it *taken from them by the King on any Pretence whatsoever*, without their own Consent : That, in this blessed Condition of Peace and Security, the *English* and *Irish*, the *Protestants* and *Roman-Catholics* lived, during the whole happy Reign of King *James I* ; and from his Death, every Degree of their Happiness was encreased and improved, under the Government of King *Charles I*."

" That, in the Midst of this extraordinary Favour and Indulgence, shewn them by the Government, these (k) *Papists* raised a most formidable and desperate Rebellion against it : That the Defection was *universal*, and the Revolt *general* ; wherein not only *all the meer Irish*, but almost *all the old English* that adhered to the Church of *Rome*, were *totally involved* : That it was a Rebellion so execrable in itself, so odious to God, and the whole World, that no Age, no Kingdom, no People, can parallel the horrid Cruelty and abominable Murders that were then, *without Number*, as well as without Mercy, committed upon the *Protestant British* Inhabitants throughout the Land, of what Age, of what Quality, or Condition soever they were : That, at the *very Beginning of this Rebellion*, (l) forty or fifty thousand Protestants were murdered,

(k) Temp. Irish Reb. Bishop of Dromore's Sermon on the 23d Octob. 1733.

(l) Clarend. Hist. of Rebellion in England.

murdered, before they suspected themselves in any Danger, or could provide for their Defence: And that, (m) during the two first Months of it *only MORE than one hundred and fifty thousand Protestants* were massacred in *cold Blood*."

These *horrible Accusations*, Sir, as they were my principal Motive, so shall they be my only Apology, for entering the Lists with you at present; and for endeavouring to convince every unprejudiced Person, that the Author of the *DIALOGUE* has undeniably proved them to be equally false and inhuman, notwithstanding all the laboured Efforts of your voluminous *ANSWER* to make the Public believe the *contrary*.

And first, Sir, the Author of the *DIALOGUE* has demonstrated, (beyond Doubt or Cavil, in any but *yourself*), that, during both the Reigns of *James I.* and *Charles I.* the State of the *Irish Catholics* *TEMPORAL AFFAIRS* was far from being as *quiet and happy* as they themselves cou'd reasonably wish it; if it were only on Account of the Enquiry into (n) *defective Titles*, which was then rigorously prosecuted; and by Means of which,

D 2

not

(r) Temple ubi supra. B. of Dromore ubi supra.

(n) Earl of Strafford's State-Letters, Vol. 1. fol. 310.

The Commons of Ireland to the Lord Deputy.

" Most Honourable Lord:

" **H**IS Majesty's faithful, loyal, and humble subjects, the
 " Commons of this kingdom. in this present parliament
 " (1634) by his Majesty's gracious favour assembled; sensibly apprehending the manifold Inconveniences, which have befallen this
 " kingdom, through the Uncertainty of Estates, occasioned by the
 " embezzling, burning, and defacing of Records and other Evidences, happened in this realm in times loose and uncertain,
 " troubled with continual War, until the beginning of his late
 " Majesty's happy reign, and encreased by the Negligence or Ignorance of sundry persons heretofore employed in passing of patents
 " and estates from the crown; whereby many Errors in Law crept
 " into said Grants; whereof diverse indigent Persons, with Eagle-Eyes piercing thereinto, commonly took Advantage, to the utter

not only their antient Titles to many good Estates were rendered precarious and uncertain; but also the

“ Overthrow of many noble and deserving Persons, that, for the
 “ valuable considerations of Service unto the Crown, or Money,
 “ or both, honourably and fairly acquired their estates; which is
 “ the principal cause of the slow improving, planting and building
 “ in this land: for that the inhabitants of this kingdom, either
 “ through carelessness of that whereof they fear they are not se-
 “ cured; and fearing that Insecurity, to prevent Allurement and
 “ Enticing of others, to hunt after their lands, and quarrel with
 “ their Titles are disheartened from making their possessions beau-
 “ tiful or profitable.

“ We, therefore, finding in ourselves a sensible feeling of these
 “ and other Grievances, received unspeakable comfort from his
 “ Majesty’s princely Care and tender Affection towards us, expressed
 “ in the Graces bountifully granted by his sacred Majesty, and
 “ * transmitted over by the last Agents unto us, and in his royal
 “ Word, the best of Assurances, and princely Signature, which he
 “ hath been graciously pleased to pass unto us, &c. to cause the said
 “ Graces to be enacted in the next ensuing parliament, &c. And
 “ for that we cannot sufficiently discharge our duty to his highness,
 “ or the Trust reposed in us by our Country, unless we be careful,
 “ in these great affairs, to conserve the Honour of his Majesty’s sa-
 “ cred Word in that Regard passed unto us, his people; who, ha-
 “ ving heretofore by the said Agents in their free Gift of one hun-
 “ dred and twenty thousand Pounds to his Majesty, and one hun-
 “ dred and fifty thousand Pounds of Loan-Money or Contribution
 “ by them forgiven, and forty thousand Pounds, in these two last
 “ Years, contributed by the country, amounting in the Total to
 “ three hundred and ten thousand Pounds; besides the unanimous
 “ and voluntary Gift of six inire Subsidies granted in this Session,
 “ exceeding in proportion their Abilities and the Precedents of
 “ passed Ages; will not receive that comfort from our employment
 “ in this Meeting, which they justly expect, if they find not timely
 “ content in that behalf. Forasmuch, therefore, as, in the whole
 “ progress of this great Work, we received ample testimony of your
 “ lordship’s strong propension to the general good and prosperity of
 “ this nation; we most humbly pray, that your lordship may be
 “ pleased to place the statute of 21st Jacobi I, intituled, An Act
 “ for the general Quiet of the Subject against Concealment, &c. in
 “ the first transmission of laws into England, the said Grace being
 “ particularly promised by his Majesty, approved by both the coun-
 “ cils of estates of England and Ireland, and published in all the
 “ counties in this kingdom at the general assizes, and most expected
 “ of all the other Graces: and to be pleased to recommend the other
 “ articles of the said graces and instructions expressed in the said
 “ Schedule, which are desired to be enacted, to the committee of
 “ the council board, to be moulded into Laws; and so to dispose of

• In 1628.

the Possession was often FORCIBLY TAKEN FROM THEM, (o) "to the utter Overthrow," (as the Committee of the *Irish* House of Commons complained in 1634) "of many noble and deserving Persons, that for valuable Considerations of Service, or Money, or both, honourably and fairly acquired these Estates."

Thus, Sir, stands that Matter : And although some of the most eminent political Casuists of these Kingdoms esteem *all this* a *sufficient Foundation* for Resistance ; yet, let me assure you, that I am far from insisting on it as a *sufficient Justification* of the Rebellion in 1641. I only contend, that the fatal Violence of that Time wanted not as high and frequent Provocations as were ever offered a *free People*, or at least such as *ought to be free*. And, when I say that none, except *yourself*, would *cavil* on the Matter ; I do so, from the well-grounded Hope, that no other in the Kingdom makes it *still* a Point, to maintain an *Untruth*, in which no Man, (except, perhaps, *yourself*,) is *now interested*.----If you think, good Sir, that Truth may be over-turned, by barely *contradicting* it, at a Time when the *Contradiction* itself is *no longer useful*, you deceive yourself prodigiously. Your Readers will find it so ; nay *yourself* will find it so, before I have done with you.

D 3

Thus,

" them that they may pass for Laws in the next Session, and to certify the same to his Majesty : And, likewise to certify the universal and much longing Desire of Us, his Majesty's liege People, to have the said Statute of 21st Jacobi aforesaid, and the rest of the said graces and instructions that are to be enacted, as aforesaid, perpetuated by acts to be passed in this parliament : which being granted, will produce perpetual Honour to his Majesty, Reputation to your lordship, (for whose government this grateful Act was reserved), and Happiness to this Commonwealth ; and will ever conserve a right Intelligence between the best of kings, and his most faithful and dutiful subjects of this kingdom."

(o) See the Earl of Strafford's State Letters, Vol. I.

Thus, I say, stands the Matter, in Regard to the *Insecurity* of Property in *Ireland*, during the Reign of *James I.* and that of his Successor, until the Eruption of the Rebellion in 1641.

In Answer to *this*, you have taken much fruitless Pains to make out what, at best, appears to have been a dubious and obsolete Title in his Majesty to some of these Estates ; a Title founded, in a great Measure, (even by your (p) own Confession), on the forced Submission of some of the *Irish* Chiefs to *Richard II.* when he was at the Head of a powerful Armament in *Ireland* ; and which nugatory Title, after all, (q) his Majesty (King *Charles I.*) voluntarily gave up.-----But, the true Question between the Author of the *Dialogue* and you, Sir, was not, Whether King *Charles I.* or his Father, had a Right to any of those Estates, into the Titles of whose Possessors such Enquiry was made ; but this single Matter of Fact only, viz. Whether Advantage was not taken by the corrupt Ministers of both in *Ireland*, from Accidents recited in the Committee's Letter, (such as the *embezzlinge*, *burning*, and *defacing of Records and other Evidences*,) to (r) turn many noble and deserving Persons out of their Estates, to which their Majesties had no Right or Title ?---The Author of the *DIALOGUE* has produced such strong, clear, and authentic Proof of that Fact, in the Testimony of the Representative Body of the whole Nation ; that, among other evasive Answers, you are driven to the Pretence, that (s) " the Protestants looked upon themselves, as aggrieved by this Enquiry into the defective Titles,

as

(p) See Harris's Answer.

(q) See Appendix, No. 4.

(r) See Strafford's State Letters, ubi supra.

(s) Answ. p. 61.

as well as the *Papists* :” Whereas (besides that the greatest Number, by far, of the Estates in *Ireland*, were then in the Hands of *Papists*) Lord *Wentworth* himself, writing to Secretary *Cook*, concerning this very Particular of *defective Titles*, plainly affirms the *contrary* : For he says, (t) “ This you
 “ may be sure of, *all the Protestants* are for Plan-
 “ tations, *all the other* against them : so that those
 “ being the greater Number (in the House of
 “ Commons) you can want no Help they can give
 “ you therein. Nay, in Case there be no Title to be
 “ made good to these Counties for the Crown ; yet
 “ should not I despair, for Reasons of State, and
 “ for the *Strength and Security* of this Kingdom, to
 “ have them passed to the King, by *immediate Act*
 “ of this Parliament.”

In the same Letter he tells him, “ The *Popish*
 “ Party have been ill to please this Session : But af-
 “ ter I had, the 27th of last Month, given our An-
 “ swer to *their Graces*” (i. e. *rejected*, among others, that favourite Grace so often *promised*, and at length granted by his Majesty, of stopping Enquiries into *defective Titles*) “ they lost all Temper, and brake
 “ forth into such forward Sullenness as was strange !”
 ---He give us no Intimation, that the Majority of *Protestants*, then in the *Irish* House of Commons, were any Way displeased at his Denial of these Graces : But, on the contrary, “ he considers that
 “ (u) Majority as a good Rod to hold over the *Pa-*
 “ *pists*.”---and adds, “ it may serve of great Use
 “ to confirm and settle his Majesty’s Title to the
 “ Plantation of *Conaught and Ormond*” ; to make
 out which Title, as he elsewhere owns, he had
 “ before

(t) State Letters, Vol. I. Fo. 353.

(u) State Letters, *ibid*.

" before (w) attempted, but was foiled in the (x)
 " Attempt."

It is, therefore, *evident*, that the *Irish* Roman-Catholics were *then* the Persons principally, if not *sole'y*, aggrieved, by this Enquiry into *defective Titles*. But before I quit this iniquitous Business, I will add a Word or two more concerning the great and perfidious Part, which Lord *Wentworth* himself confesses he bore in it.

His Majesty, in the Year 1628, having given his royal (y) Word, under his princely Signature, to the Commons of *Ire'and*, That he would put a Stop, (among other Grievances,) to that capital one, the *Enquiry into the defective Titles*, by passing an Act of Parliament for that Purpose; *Anno* 1634, that House addressed Lord *Wentworth*, as we have already seen, to transmit to his Majesty their humble and earnest Request, that he would be pleased to fulfil his royal Word so passed to them, (which they call *the best of Assurances* :) This, Lord *Wentworth* accordingly did; but, at the same Time, privately persuaded his Majesty to break his royal Word with these People, by refusing their Request; and offered to take all the Blame of such Refusal upon himself. This Offer was thankfully accepted by his Majesty, who acquaints Lord *Wentworth*, in a Letter under his own Hand, that he (z) " received great Contentment

(w) State Letters, Vol. I. Fo. 342.

(x) Idem, Fo. 319 & 342.

(y) Earl of Strafford's State Letters.

(z) The King to the Lord Deputy,

" Wentworth,

" Before I answer any of your particular letters to me, I must tell you, that your last public dispatch has given me a great deal of contentment; and especially for keeping off the envy of a necessary negative from me of those unreasonable Graces, that the people expected from me, &c.

" Your assured Friend,

" CHARLES R."

Earl of Strafford's State Letters, Vol. I. Fol. 331.

ment from it."---Matters being thus agreed upon, Lord *Wentworth* peremptorily opposed the passing of such an Act, "and told the House (what now appears to have been a Falsehood) that such Refusal *was his own*, the Request of the Commons being *never so much as transmitted over* by him; and added that, such Denial of the Deputy and Council *was grounded on Poining's Act*; that "the passing such an Act *was not good and expedient for the Kingdom at that Time*; and that so they were to rest satisfied *without stirring* any more as to, that Particular, as a Thing which could not, *nor would not*, be departed from by him. By these Means, (as he writes to his Majesty,) he had laid the *promised Graces*, concerning defective Titles *so sound asleep*, that he was confident they *were never to be awakened more.*"-----But herein he was unhappily mistaken, as we shall hereafter see: And, even at that Juncture he confesses, that his refusing these darling *Graces* to that People, *did much unsettle them*", and in particular, *that it so far stirred the Popish Party, that they grew very peevish.*"

With Regard to divers other Grievances of those People, in the former of these Reigns, (which the Author of the *Dialogue* has, for Brevity's Sake, omitted,) (a) you have yourself confessed, that "the Government did, about the Year 1615, *keep a stricter Hand over them*, than they had before done: That, soon after the Year 1617, the Oath of Supremacy was administered to all Magistrates and Civil Officers (most of whom were Roman-Catholics,) and that, in Pursuance thereof, the Liberties of *Waterford* were seized;" you add, "whether Ninety Citizens were imprisoned in
" *Dublin*

(a) Answer, p. 44.

“ *Dublin* for denying the King’s (spiritual) Supremacy, you cannot affirm or deny, your Histories being silent in that Particular.”

But besides, Sir, that your pretended Doubting is an Indication of the Truth of that Particular, the learned and candid Author of the *Analeſta Sacra*, an Eye-witness of these Grievances, and who, for the Truth of what he says concerning them, appeals to the Knowledge of the then Lords Justices and People of *Ireland*, positively asserts, (b) that “ all Magistrates and Civil Officers, on refusing the Oath of Supremacy, were not only disfranchised but also cited to the Castle-Chamber, insulted, imprisoned, and severely mulcted into the Bargain: That even those, who elected them, were treated with the same Rigour: That Roman-Catholic Merchants were forbid to inhabit or traffic in the *New Plantations*, on Pain of forfeiting all their Goods and Merchandize: And that great Numbers of them were daily excommunicated, imprisoned, and fined, for Marriages, Christenings and Burials.” And will you, Sir, after all this, undertake to demonstrate, that these People were, during that and the succeeding Reign, in a blessed Condition of *Peace* and *Security*?

(c) And now that I have touched on the *spiritual Distresses* of these Catholics; I must inform you that

(b) Pref. et alibi.

(c) What his Majesty, James Iſt’s disposition towards the papists was in 1616, may be gathered from the following curious extract of his speech of that year in the star-chamber.—“ I confess, says he, “ I am loth to hang a Priest, only for Religion Sake and saying Mass; but if he refuse to take the oath of allegiance, (which let the Pope, and all the devils in hell, say what they will, yet, as you find by my Book, &c. is meerly civil); those that so refuse the oath, and are Polypragmatic recusants, I leave them to the Law: It is no Persecution, but good Justice; and those priests also that out of my Grace and Mercy have been let go out of pri-

that, notwithstanding their dutiful and loyal Behaviour, both *in* and *out* of Parliament, they suffered still greater Hardships and Severities, on a religious Account, in both these Reigns, an incontestable Proof of which Behaviour we have in the King's own Letter to the Lord Deputy, towards the End of the Session in 1615, which contains the following remarkable Passages.

----- (d) " We understand by Letters from you, that the Bills of *Subsidy*, lately transmitted from thence hither, were, upon the *first Propounding*, received and passed in both Houses of Parliament *there*, with such an *universal Consent* and *Cheerfulness*, that there seemed to arise an *affectionate Emulation* between them, who should express most Love and Forwardness therein unto us : Which evident Demonstration of their *dutiful Zeal* and *Affection* unto us, we take in so good Part from them, that we require you, in *our Name*, to give them *Thanks*; and let them know, that we are much better pleased with the *free Manner* of this Present of their *Affections* unto us, than if they had given us *ten Times the Value* of the Money with unwilling Hearts."---

Now Sir, although the History of those Times, and the List of the Members of that Parliament, plainly shew that the Roman-Catholics were a large and prevalent Part of it, and consequently equally entitled to all those Encomiums of dutiful Zeal and Affection, bestowed by his Majesty, with the other Members ; yet, to prevent all Cavil,
of

sons, and banished upon condition not to return, ask me no Questions touching these ; quit me of them, and let me not hear of them. To them I join those that break prison ; for such priests as the prison will not hold, it is a plain Sign nothing will hold them but the Halter."

(d) Journ. of the Ir. House of Com. Vol. I.

of which you are extremely fond when you would impeach the Loyalty of that People, I will render this Truth still more evident and indubitable, by relating a Passage which happened in that Session, and is recorded in the *Journals* themselves.

It was occasionally observed by some Members of that Parliament, "that although they differed in *Religion*; yet they were all of *one Heart* and *one Mind*, as to their *Duty to their Prince*; that, in *Queen Elizabeth's Time*, divers of the *recusant Party* were found loyal to her in *England*; and "that in the Wars of *Ireland*, in her Reign, the *Gentlemen of the Realm* spent as much as the *Queen*." And an Instance was mentioned of one Gentleman, of only three hundred Pounds a Year, who "spent 10,000 *l.* on that Occasion."

After the above-mentioned Bill of Subsidy had passed, "with the *general Applause* of the whole *House of Commons*," Sir *John Everard* took Occasion to say, that, "both in *Queen Elizabeth's*, "and his then present Majesty's Time, many Subsidies had been granted, but *never any so regularly*, for that the Bill passed with a *general Consent*; that there was no *Denyal*,---therefore "upon the *Knees of his Heart*, in Behalf of his Country, he humbly prayed, That the Statute of the (e) 2d of *Elizabeth* might be something *moderated for a Time*; which being granted," added he, "if the King were willing to demand two three, or four Subsidies, he doubted not of any *Denyal* hereafter."

Yet, notwithstanding all this, a Motion being made, "that the recusant Lawyers might be restored to their Practice," Mr. *Crooke*, Member for *Baltimore*, thought fit to oppose it; and assigned

(e) This statute was very grievous to Roman Catholics.

for Reason, " that they (the recusant Party) refusing to take the Oath (of Supremacy) *being so corrupt in Judgment, are not fit to corrupt others:*" for which Asperſion he was ordered, *by a Majority of eighty-three to ſeventy-four*, to explain himſelf *at the Bar*; which he not having done to the Satisfaction of the Houſe, it was voted, " That he ſhould ſubmit himſelf *on his Knee*;" but reſuſing to do that, he was again brought to the Bar, where he was told by the (f) Speaker " that the Houſe was offended with him, for uttering ſome offensive Words againſt ſome particular Members, to the general Diſlike of the whole Houſe; and therefore he was cenſured to be committed to the Caſtle, there to remain during the Pleaſure of the Houſe, and until he made ſuch Submiſſion as the Houſe would accept of." He was accordingly committed to the Caſtle; and, within a few Days after, upon petitioning the Houſe, was reſtored to his Liberty. Of ſuch Weight, and Conſideration was the *Popiſh* Party in the *Iriſh* Houſe of Commons, at that Juncture.

Soon after this, we find the ſame Sir *John Everard* ſtill ſolliciting the Houſe, " That the Statute 2d. *Eliz.* in Reſpect the Subſidy, Compoſition, &c. were on Foot, might be forborne *for a while.*" And altho' his Majeſty, in his before-mentioned Letter to the Lord Deputy, which was publickly read in the Houſe, was pleaſed to ſay that " he was ſo well pleaſed with this dutiful Conformation of theirs, that he required his Lordſhip to aſſure them from him, that he held *his Subjects of that Kingdom* in equal Favour with thoſe of his other Kingdoms; and that he would be as careful to provide for their *prosperous and flourishing Eſtate*, as he could be for the Safety of

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" his

“ his *own Person*. ” --- Nay, although at the Close of this Session, the Commons earnestly recommended it to the Lord Deputy, “ that, by his Lordship’s Means, the *Irish* (recusant) Lawyers might be re-
 “ admitted into Practice ; ” and at the same Time acquainted him, “ that a *great Number* of the House
 “ did desire, that his Lordship would recommend
 “ to his Majesty that *some Suspension* might be had
 “ of the Statute of the 2d of *Elizabeth* ; ” yet so far was either the King, or his Deputy, from complying with these Requests : on the contrary, so strictly was that rigorous Statute put in Force by their Order, that (*g*) the Money that was raised in that Year (1615) only, on those of the Popish Party, in the County of *Cavan*, for not assisting at *Protestant* Service, amounted to more than *eight thousand Pounds* ; an immense Sum in those Days, and in so poor a County, as *Cavan* then was ! --- That when some of these miserable People in the County of *Meath*, not being able to pay this Tax on their Consciences, had fled from the cruel Collectors of it into Dens and Caverns, (*b*) furious Blood-hounds were often sent after them, followed by a Sheriff and his Posse of disbanded Soldiers, equally furious, and unrelenting. (*i*) That ecclesiastical Censures, on the same Account, were executed upon them, with the greatest Rigour. --- That those, who lay under these Censures, were, when found abroad, constantly thrown into Gaols ; by which Means, great Numbers of Merchants and Artificers, being thus hindered to transact their Business publicly and in the Way of open Commerce, were reduced to the utmost Poverty and Distress. (*k*) And that, if they happened to die,
 while

(*g*) *Analecta sacra*, p. 39.

(*b*) *Ib.* Præf.

(*i*) *Id.* *ib.*

(*k*) *Id.* *ib.*

while under such Censures, they were denied *Christian* Burial, and thrown into Graves dug in the high Ways, where, as a Mark of the greatest Ignominy, Stakes were driven through their Bodies. If any of these unhappy People happened to be buried by *Stealth*, among their Relations, (a Custom, of which the *Irish* have been ever religiously fond) their Bodies, on Discovery, were immediately dug up, and treated in the ignominious Manner before mentioned. (l)

About the Beginning of the ensuing Reign, under Lord *Falkland's* Government, (m) "the *Irish* Roman-Catholics offered constantly to pay an Army of five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, for his Majesty's Use, provided they might be tolerated in the Exercise of their Religion; which Offer was not accepted." (n)

Borlase informs us, (o) that this Offer was made by them in Hopes of a *Connivance*, if not a *Toleration*; but that, instead of obtaining either, they had the Mortification to find a severe Proclamation issued out against the Exercise of their Religion, by the Lord *Falkland* and Privy-Council; and that "the Lords of the *English* Council encouraged the State of *Ireland* to carry a soft, or harder Hand over them, according to their Discretions."

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(l) And yet in the year 1622, his Majesty himself gives a very good account and character of the behaviour of the papists; for on the 25th of February of that year, he tells his council, "that the Roman Catholics of England had sustained great, and intollerable surcharges imposed on their goods, bodies and consciences, during queen Elizabeth's reign, of which they hoped to be relieved in his, &c. that now he had maturely considered the penury, and calamities of the Roman Catholics, who were in the Number of his faithful Subjects, and was resolved to relieve them, &c." Sir P. Pett, oblig. result. from the oath of supremacy, fol. 98.

(m) Sir Edw. Walker's Observations on the Annals of Hammond L'Estrange, fol. 338.

(n) And which non-acceptance was one of the principal causes that this rebellion afterwards broke out.

(o) Hist. Ir. Reb. circa Init.

In Consequence of this Encouragement, (p) their Priests were delivered into the Hands of Pursuivants, their Images hewed down, and Chalices, Crucifixes, and other Paraments of their Altars, taken away, by Soldiers employed by Authority on that Occasion. And to complete this their “*blessed Condition of Peace and Security,*” eight *Popish* Aldermen were clapped by the Heels, for not assisting their Mayor in that (to them at least) sacrilegious Deed.

Soon after this, sixteen (q) Houses, (Chapels) by Direction of the Lords of the Council in *England*, were seized on, to the King’s Use; “and the Fryars and Priests were so *persecuted*, as two “(say *L’Estrange* and *Borlase*) hanged themselves “in their own Defence.”

And now, Sir, with what Face could you affirm it to be a *strict Truth*, that the *Irish* Roman-Catholics, in both these Reigns, enjoyed an *undisturbed Exercise* of their Religion? And that, even in *Dublin*, where the Seat of the chief Governor was, they went as publicly and as uninterruptedly to their Devotions as he went to his?

Had indeed the Roman-Catholic Clergy, at that Juncture, made the wicked, the seditious Use of the Pulpit, which you and the anonymous (r) Author of *Foxes* and *Firebrands* charge them with; who would wonder at any Severity of Government against so vile a Priesthood? What Government on Earth would admit them to exercise publicly and uninterruptedly (as you advance) so much public Mischief? But it is a Shame to expostulate farther with you, on so crude a Tale. *Hammond* *L’Estrange*, who relates the Persecution of the *Irish* Clergy

(p) See Ham. L’Estrange, Harris’s Answer, &c.

(q) Borlase’s Reduction of Ireland, Ham. L’Estrange.

(r) Harris’s Answ. p. 87.

Clergy at this Time, is intirely silent as to any such Cause of it: But he lays it altogether on their celebrating Mass on St. *Stephen's* Day; and I believe you will allow, thar *L'Estrange* would not willingly have thrown a Veil over any of their Misdemeanors. Nay, you yourself confesse (s) " that Lord *Falkland's* Government was disturbed by no Rebellions;" which could hardly be the Case, if these Jesuits and Fryars dared, at that Time, to infuse Sedition so publickly into the Minds of the Inhabitants of *Dublin*.

Yet so far were these, and other galling Presures, from spiriting up the *Irish* to rebel, although continued upon them until the Year 1639, (when, on Account of the Rebellion in *Scotland*, Lord *Wentworth* called a Parliament in *Ireland*, in Order to raise large Subsidies for his Majesty) that the (t)

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Natives

(s) Id. p. 68.

(t) From Lord *Strafford's* State Letters, vol. 2. fol. 397.

A letter from the Privy Counsellors, members of the Irish House of Commons, to Secretary *Windebank*, in 1639.

" Sir,

" The happy resolution, this day taken in the Commons House of Parliament, and the observable circumstances which occurred therein to our view, who have the honour to serve his Majesty, as of his privy council here; and who, as members of the House of Commons, were present, and co-operating in that resolution; have rendered to us such inward joy and contentment, in the apprehension of the intire Affections and great loyalty of this people, abundantly testified thereby, as we esteem it our duties to hasten the glad advertisement thereof to his sacred Majesty.

" After the proposal of such acts of grace and advantage to the subject, as we conceived most fit to lead, in order to the pounding of the subsidies, six subsidies were demanded for his Majesty: whereupon divers members of the house spake thereunto; some of the Natives declaring, that, as six were granted the last parliament, towards enabling the king to pay the debts contracted for the occasions of this crown, and for the better settlement of the revenues: so, at this time, six or more, are fit to be given; it being apparent, that the peace and safety of the kingdom are become so nearly concerned.

" Some also of the Natives shewing diverse precedents in antient times, and, among those, some whereby the king, by a mandate

Natives in the House of Commons, who were mostly Roman-Catholics, gave the strongest Proofs of Loyalty and Affection to the King, in that trying Exigency. And because you are destitute of every other Answer to so authentic and unquestionable a Testimony in their Favour, you meanly pretend that

“ from himself alone, without a parliament, caused monies and goods to be taken in Ireland, from merchants and others, towards defraying the charges of his expeditions against the Scots, for the defence of his kingdom; and those having enlarged themselves in that point, mentioned the abundant piety and clemency of his Majesty, in being so indulgent to his subjects, as to decline that example of his progenitors and to require aid of his subjects in a parliamentary way; some of them said, that his Majesty should have a fee simple of subsidies in their estates on like occasions, for the honour of his person, and safety of his kingdoms: it was fit to be done, though it were with leaving themselves nothing, besides hose and doublet. Some of them with much earnestness, after forward expressions of readiness towards advancing the business, concluded, that, as his Majesty is the best of Kings, so this People should strive to be ranked among the best of Subjects.

“ Thus, every of them seeming, in a manner, to contend one with another, who should shew most affection and forwardness to comply with his Majesty's occasions, and all of them expressing, even with passion, how much they abhor and detest the Scotch Covenanters, and how readily every man's hand ought to be laid to his sword, to assist the king in the reducing of them by Force to the obedience and loyalty of subjects; they desired that themselves and others of this nation might have the honour to be employed in this expedition, and declared, with very great demonstration of cheerful affections, that their Hearts contained Mines of Subsidies for his Majesty; that twenty subsidies, if their abilities were equal with their desires, were too little to be given to so sacred a majesty, from whose princely clemency, by the ministration of the lords lieutenant, so many and so gracious favours are continually derived unto them.

“ — In the End, considering the present condition of the kingdom, and how unable they are, without too much pressure to them, to advance more at this time; they humbly besought, that, by the lord lieutenant's interposition to his Majesty, four subsidies might be accepted from them at this time; yet, with this declaration made by them, with as much demonstration of loyalty as ever nation or people expressed towards a king, that, if more than these four should be requisite, and the occasions of the war continue, they will be ready to grant more, and to lay down their persons, lives and estates, at his Majesty's feet, to further his

that the Author of the *DIALOGUE*, by producing it, has *insinuated* “ that it was the Native *Irish Papists* only, who had shewn all this Loyalty,” and “ that he has affirmed, in so many Words, that that House of Commons consisted mostly of *Irish Papists*; whereas you well know, that the only true Meaning of his Words in that Place is, that the Natives in that House of Commons were mostly *Irish Papists*; which Fact is so undeniably true, that even *you* have not contested it. He transcribed the Word *NATIVES* from a Letter sent into *England* by such of the *Irish* Privy Council as were Members of that Parliament, and could attest, from their own Knowledge, this very dutiful and loyal Be-

“ royal design for correction of the disordered factions in Scotland,
 “ and reducing them to a right understanding of themselves, and for
 “ the defence and safety of his Majesty’s kingdoms and people.
 “ And they earnestly desired us, of the council then present, that,
 “ immediately after the rising of the house, we would represent
 “ this from the house to the lord lieutenant; which they did with
 “ general acclamations and signs of joy and contentment, even to
 “ the throwing up of their hats, and lifting up their hands.

“ The question being then put, for the granting of four subsidies,
 “ with such a declaration to be made besides the act of subsidy; it
 “ was unanimously assented to, by the whole house; there being
 “ found therein not one negative voice: which we mention for the
 “ glory of his Majesty, that hath so good and loyal subjects, and
 “ for the honour of this government and nation.

“ And because no words are able fully to set forth the Chearfulness,
 “ wherewith this people did, in this particular, manifest their
 “ sense of his Majesty’s occasions, their desire to further his Majesty’s
 “ royal intentions, and their intire affections to the honour
 “ of his person; and all with most lively expressions of their duty
 “ and loyalty towards him; we of his council could have wished,
 “ if it had been possible, that his Majesty had been in his own
 “ person an eye-witness of this day’s carriage, which we humbly
 “ conceive would have been of far more Value in his royal estimation,
 “ than twenty Subsidies. And so we remain,

Your very assured loving Friends,

R. Dillon,
 Will. St. Leger,
 A. Loftus,
 Wm. Parsons,
 Christ. Wandesford,

Jo. Borlase,
 Phil. Mainwaring,
 Cha. Coote,
 Tho. Rotherham,
 Edw. Trevor,

George Rattlife,
 Robert Meredith,

Behaviour of those People, on that critical Emergency. And indeed these NATIVES are mentioned in that Letter, in so distinguishing and peculiar a Manner, as evidently shews that they were, if not the only, at least the most prompt and forward Members of that Parliament, to grant these Subsidies, and every other Aid in their Power, towards suppressing the *Scottish* Rebellion.

From hence the Author of the DIALOGUE justly concludes, that their rising in Rebellion so soon afterwards, must have been owing, not to any Disaffection of theirs to his Majesty, (*u*) but to a Continuation of the Grievances already mentioned, and to their just Apprehensions of others still greater, with which they were threatened: Among which latter, not the least alarming, (*w*) were their well-

(*u*) This appears sufficiently from the marquis of Clanricarde's letter to the king, 26th of October 1642; wherein we find the following passage. "Neither intreaties, threats, nor protestations, can persuade, or draw most Men from the belief that they do really serve your Majesty, who are in this present Commotion.— If vows, or protestations may gain belief, I should be followed by thousands to serve your Majesty in any other place; but as the state of this kingdom stands, such is their sense of the Opposition given to your Majesty, by some faction in your parliament, of the Injustice done them by those that govern here, and the general Destruction conceived to be designed against the Natives, that almost the whole kingdom are united into one resolute body, to gain their preservation, or sell their Lives at the dearest Rates."

Memoirs, fol. 180.

(*w*) From the Journals of the Irish House of Commons, vol. 1. 7th November 1640.

"It is ordered, upon question, that the particular matters mentioned and expressed in the Petition of Remonstrance, now twice read, are voted and declared by this house to be Grievances, and do require a present redress."

Extract of said Petition of Remonstrance.

Art. 4th. "That the subject is, in all the material parts thereof, denied the benefit of princely graces, and more especially of the statute of limitations, of the 21st Jacobi, granted by his Majesty in the 4th year of his reign, upon great advice of the council of England and Ireland, and for great consideration, and then published in all the courts at Dublin, and in all the counties of this kingdom in open assizes: whereby all persons do take notice,

well-grounded Fears of an Invasion of their Country by the *Scottish* (x) Rebels, who, they knew, would give the Native *Irish* no Quarter, and whose Proceedings the Lords Justices themselves did *secretly* abet and promote: For, in less than two Months after the Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*, they (y) pressed the King and Parliament of *England* to send over *ten Thousand of them*, under Pretext of fighting against the *Irish*. And as a further Proof, that the Tyranny of these Lords Justices was

“ that, contrary to his Majesty’s pious intention, his subjects of this kingdom have not enjoyed the benefit of his Majesty’s princely Promise thereby.

Art. 5th. “ The extra-judicial avoiding of letters-patents of estates, of a very great Part of his Majesty’s subjects, under the great seal, the public faith of the kingdom, by private opinions delivered at the council-board, without legal evictions of their estates, contrary to the law, and without precedents or example of any former ages.

Art. 13th. “ That of late, his Majesty’s late attorney-general hath exhibited informations against many ancient boroughs of this kingdom, into his Majesty’s court of exchequer; to shew cause, by what warrant the said boroughs, who heretofore sent burgeses to the parliament, should send the said burgeses to parliament, and thereupon, for want of an answer, the said privilege of sending burgeses was seized by the court: which proceedings were altogether *CORAM NON JUDICE*, and contrary to the laws, and the privileges of the house of parliament; and, if way should be given thereto, might tend to the subversion of parliament, and, by consequence, to the ruin and destruction of the common-wealth; and that the House of Commons hath hitherto, in this present parliament, been deprived of the advice and counsel of many profitable and good members, by means thereof.”

(x) Extract of a Protestation of the Irish House of Commons, 7th Feb. 1640, from the Journals of the House. Vol. I. p. 311.

“ The knights, citizens and burgeses, in parliament assembled, do hereby declare and protest, That Thomas, earl of Strafford, lord lieutenant-general, and general-governor of this kingdom, before such time as the said act (1639) was read or known in parliament, and before him, the lord Dillon of Kilkenny-west and Christopher Wandesford, Esq; then lord justices of this kingdom, did, in several speeches, declare and signify unto both houses of parliament—the near and approaching Danger, that this realm was suddenly to be invaded by the Scots.”

(y) Temple, Ir. Reb.

was the chief Incentive to this Insurrection, he has produced the (z) Examination of O Conolly himself, who was the first Discoverer of it, and who expressly deposeth, "that he had it from one
 "of the Chiefs of these Rebels, that they did owe
 "their Allegiance to the King, and would pay him all
 "his Rights; but that they did this (rise) for the
 "tyrannical Government was over them." For the same Purpose, he has cited from (a) Borlase several Queries of a Committee of the *Irish* House of Commons, in the Summer of 1641, whereby it appears, that the *Irish*, even then, laboured under many insupportable Pressures: "And as these
 "Grievances and Apprehensions, continues he,
 "must have been always very grating to that People, they certainly became much more so at that
 "Juncture, when they were considered by them as
 "the only Recompense they were to expect from
 "their late transcendent Loyalty and Affection to
 "the Crown of *England*".

Let us now see what Kind of Answer you have given to all this; and for what wonderful Reasons you have (b) affirmed it to be a "strict Truth," and promised to demonstrate it too, "that the State of the *Irish* Catholics temporal and spiritual Affairs was, all this Time, as quiet and happy as they themselves could reasonably wish it."---You are still carping at the before-mentioned Loyalty of the *Irish* Natives in the Parliament 1639 (c); "and suppose, that the Author of the *DIALOGUE*
 "must allow the vast Majority of *Protestants* then
 "in the House of Commons (for Proof of which Majority you refer him to a List of those Commons, which, you say, you have at Home in your Closet

(z) See his Examination in Temple's Hist. of the Ir. Reb.

(a) Hist. of the Ir. Reb.

(b) Answ. p. 31.

(c) Ibid. p. 99.

“ to have had the some Share at least in this Loyalty
 “ and Affection,” Both he, and I, Mr. *Harris*, readily grant that they had : But, for God’s Sake, what Purpose of your’s can this our Concession answer ? Does it derogate in the least from that distinguished Loyalty of these *Natives*, which is principally taken Notice of in the aforesaid Letter, and to impeach which you have left no Artifice unemployed (d) ?

“ As for *Owen O Conolly*, you have no Doubt but
 “ he swore *Truth* in his Examination ;” but you add, “ that Declaration of the Rebels to him can be
 “ taken no otherwise but as a Mask to cover their
 “ villainous Proceedings.”---You forget, Sir, that this *O Conolly* was a Confident of these Rebels, when they declared to him, “ that it was the Tyranny that was over them that made them rise” : On which Account, they cannot be supposed to have used any Mask or Disguise, in conversing with him on that Head ; and there is no Question but they afterwards heartily repented of their *Openness* to him.

After all, you are forced to confess, that (e)
 “ there were many Grievances introduced under
 Lord (f) *Wentworth’s* Government ;” but you would have

(d) Ib.

(e) Ans. p. 103.

(f) “ And the said knights, citizens, and burgeses, assembled as aforesaid, do further declare and make this their Protestation, That this kingdom, at such time as the said earl of Strafford first obtained the government thereof, was in a flourishing, wealthy, and happy Estate : And that since, the said earl of Strafford, his advisers, counsellors and ministers, have altered the Face of the Government of the said kingdom, by the introducing of a new, unlawful, arbitrary, and tyrannical Government, &c. to the particular profit of himself and his ministers, tending to the great impoverishment and destruction of his Majesty’s said subjects, in their lands, goods, lives, and just liberties, &c. And that the said earl of Strafford, and his counsellors, advisers, and ministers aforesaid, by, and by occasion of, the said innovations and new form of unjust government, have, beyond all measure and moderation, enriched and advanced themselves, by extortions, oppressions, and

have us believe, at the same Time, that “ these
 “ Grievances were redressed by his Majesty, as soon
 “ as they were laid before him, and that the Lords
 “ Justices, *Parsons* and *Borlase*, so SWEETLY temper-
 “ ed the Government, that there was no Room left
 “ for any Complaints, some Months before any Flame
 “ burst out.” And for Proof of this (to you) im-
 portant Article, you have only referred us to a
 Passage which you had, on a former Occasion,
 quoted from *Temple*, (g) “ an Evidence,” say you,
 “ that cannot be controverted, except by those
 “ who shut their Eyes against the most manifest
 “ Truths.” Believe me, Mr. *Harris*, whatever you
 may intend by this Way of answering, you are,
 in Fact, only injuring the Cause which you have
 taken upon you to defend ! For, what impartial
 Reader will not despair of its Success, in the Hands
 of an Advocate, who can produce no other Proof
 of its Merits, but the Testimony of a Person that
 was, not only an *acting* Party in it, but also an
avowed, interested, and inveterate Enemy to all those,
 against whom such Testimony is brought ?

But I will try the Force of plain Truth against
 that Testimony of Sir *John Temple*, and will un-
 dertake to prove from it (not indeed, as you have
 falsely quoted it, to make it serve a Turn, but as
 it really stands in his History) the direct contrary
 of what you have proposed to demonstrate by it ;
 namely, That the Grievances in Question were so
 far from being redressed at any Time before this
 Rebellion broke out ; and that these Lords Justices

were

“ all sorts of injustice ; to the general grief, discontent and destruc-
 “ tion of his Majesty’s said faithful people of this kingdom, &c.
 “ And the said knights, citizens, and burgesses, do hereby autho-
 “ rize and require their committee, now attending his Majesty, for
 “ to present unto his Majesty this their Protestation, and Proof
 “ thereof, by particular instances, if the same be required and ne-
 “ cessary, &c.”

Journals, &c. Vol. 1. p. 311.

(g) Answ. p. 101.

were so far from *sweetly* tempering the Government, and leaving *no Room for any Complaints*, that it was altogether their Faults, that some of the principal of these Grievances (the Enquiry into defective Titles particularly) were not redressed some Months before any Flame at all burst out : For, after that Writer had told us that (b) “ the Lords Justices *Parsons* and *Borlase* were *content* to draw up two Acts to be passed in the Parliament, (most *impetuously*, says *Temple*, but not in *your* Quotation,) *desired by the Natives* ;” and that they were so *content* for a Reason, Part of which likewise you have suppressed, as not being for your Purpose, viz. “ because they saw the King most *absolutely resolved* to give the *Irish* Agents full Satisfaction”--he proceeds thus, “ The one was the Act of Limitations, (which (i) *unquestionably* settled all Estates of Land in the Kingdom quietly enjoyed, without Claim or Interruption, for the Space of sixty Years immediately preceding ;) the other was for the Relinquishment of the Right and Title, which his Majesty had to the four Counties in *Conaught*, legally found for him by several Inquisitions taken in them, and *ready to be disposed of, upon a due Survey, to British Undertakers* ; as also to some Territories of (k) *good Extent* in *Munster* and the County of *Clare*, upon the same Title.”---Here, indeed, was good and ample Provision made by his Majesty for Redress of one of the principal Grievances of the *Irish* Roman-Catholics, the Inquiry into defective Titles ; and that his Majesty was willing, nay, *absolutely resolved*, to give them full Satisfaction in the Redress of all their Grievances,

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(b) See his Hist. of the Irish Rebellion, p. 13. &c.

(i) This word omitted by Harris.

(k) These words are omitted in Harris's quotation.

ances, they never yet doubted : But I would fain know, Mr. *Harris*, what Share of Merit these Lords Justices could possibly claim in this Provision for Redress? From the Reason assigned by *Temple*, for their being *content* to draw up these two Acts, it is evident, that they were so content only because they apprehended his Majesty's Displeasure in case of Non-compliance. But pray, Sir, did their Lordships afterwards, agreeably to his Majesty's most *absolute Resolutions*, and the most *impetuous Desires* of that injured People, take any, the least, Step, towards getting those Acts passed into Laws by the *Irish* Parliament, which had (l) employed some of its own Members into *England*, as Agents to his Majesty, and expected to continue sitting, for that End, until their Return with the (m) Royal Assent? Quite the Contrary; these Lords Justices, although (n) expressly commanded by his Majesty, in his Letter of the 28th of *March* preceding, "to suffer that Parliament to sit, until his Majesty should think fit to determine the same" (for which the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, returned their thankful Acknowledgments, and (o) supplicated that that Parliament might not be prorogued or dissolved until such Time as *said Bills* were found in Parliament, and other Grievances removed;) these Lords Justices, I say, in Order to prevent the passing of these Acts into Laws, (p) had caused that Parliament to be adjourned for *the Space of three Months*, some few Days before the Arrival of these Agents from *England* with the Royal Assent: By which

(l) See Journal of the Irish House of Commons, V. I. Borl. Hist. of the Irish Reb. &c.

(m) See Journal of the Irish House of Commons, Vol. I.

(n) Ibid.

(o) Ibid.

(p) See *Temple*, Borl. &c. Irish Reb.

which Time, they had Reason enough to hope, that the encreasing Confusions in *England* and *Scotland* would have rendered these gracious Intentions of his Majesty towards the *Irish* for ever ineffectual. But that was not all ;---These Agents finding, on their Arrival in *Dublin*, the Parliament adjourned, “ presently applied,” says (q) *Temple*, “ to the Lords Justices and Council, desiring to “ have all those Acts and other Graces granted by his “ Majesty, made known to the People by Proclamations to be sent down into several Parts of the “ Country ;” and were they gratified even in that ? “ You would unfairly insinuate that they were, by “ abruptly breaking off at these last cited Words of “ *Temple* : But what immediately follows in that “ Writer plainly shews the contrary ; for thus he proceeds ;---“(r) which (Desire of the *Irish* Agents) “ while the Lords Justices took into Consideration, “ and sate daily composing Acts to be passed,” and so forth, without mentioning a Syllable, by which we can learn that they either had sent to any Part of the Country, or intended to send such Proclamations. And thus, while so many of the Estates of the *Irish* “ were ready to be disposed of to *British* Undertakers,” did these Lords Justices trifle with that People, and continue in this considering Mood, from the Midst of *August* 1641, until the fatal 23d of *October* following, contrary to his Majesty’s express Intention and Command.

As for what you have suggested from *Temple* and *Borlase*, “ of that Parliament’s having been “ so adjourned by its own free Consent,” let the impartial Reader judge, whether it be not absolutely incredible, that they would have freely consent-

(q) *Irish Reb.* p. 25.(r) *Ibid.*

ed to such Adjournment, at a Time, when they daily expected their Agents from *England* with those Bills to be passed into Laws by them, which they had for so many Years, and at that Juncture in particular, most *impetuously* wished for, and on which the Quiet and certain Possession of so many of their Estates did intirely depend ? (s) Even *Borlase* has discovered the Falsity of this Insinuation by owning that “ the Members of Parliament afterwards *aggravated* this Adjournment as a great “ *Unkindness*, the Committee of Parliament (the “ *Irish* Agents) being expected from *England*, and “ arrived at *Dublin* near the End of *August*.”--- But this Matter is now put out of all Dispute, by the Journals of the *Irish* House of Commons, lately printed, which amply shew how much that Parliament (t) struggled for a *Continuation* of their sitting, in Order to have *these Bills* passed into Laws at that Time. In short, Sir, so far were these Lords Justices from *sweetly* tempering the Government, and leaving no Room for Complaints at this Juncture, that many concurring Circumstances plainly evince, that, on the contrary, they were in strict Confederacy with the factious *Puritans* in *England*, who then began to prevail ; and that the Heads of that Party did conspire, in both Kingdoms, to irritate the *Irish* to this Rebellion.

For, “ (u) in the Beginning almost of the (then) “ *English* Parliament,” says an avowed Enemy of the *Irish* Rebels, “ the Independents (in that Parliament)

(s) *Irish Reb.* fol. 17.

(t) 6^o. August 1641.

“ It is ordered, That a committee shall be forthwith sent to the “ House of Lords to desire that both Houses may continue together “ for some further Time. — First, that the act of limitations and “ the act concerning Conaught were coming over, and that the “ Committee were at the water-side.”

Journ. Irish Com. Vol. I. See Ap. N^o. 5.

(u) *Hist. of Independency*, p. 200.

liament) insisted openly upon it to have the *Popists* of *Ireland* rooted out, and their Lands sold to Adventurers; and passing an Act for that Purpose, necessitated the *Irish* to massacre the *English Protestants*, which, (adds my Author) was purposely done by the *Independents*, THAT BOTH PAPISTS AND PROTESTANTS MIGHT DESTROY ONE ANOTHER THERE."---Agreeably to this Project, "(w)before the *Irish* fell from their Obedience, Sir *William Parsons*, one of the Lords Justices," (and who, as even yourself allow, was thought to be too deeply embarked with the Parliament of *England*) "did positively declare, at a public Entertainment, that within a Twelve-month, no Catholic should be seen in *Ireland*; and many Hands were sought, and Thousands found to subscribe a PETITION tending to the Introduction of a severe (x) Persecution against Catholics."

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That

(w) Brief Narrative.

The marquis of Clanricarde, in his letter to the duke of Richmond, so early as the 23d Jan. 1641, giving an account of the causes of this rebellion, informs his grace, that "all (the *Irish*) generally were discontented with those that managed the affairs of state there, whom they charged with secret Practicing both there, and in *England*, before the Commotions began, to raise parties and factions to destroy their religion; to divert and hinder the king's Graces intended towards them. By that means, to put them into Desperation, that they forfeit their lives and Fortunes. And since the distempers began that they (lords justices) had so disposed of affairs, as if the Design was laid to put the whole Kingdom into Rebellion." *Memoirs*, fol. 63.

"'Tis no small confirmation of this notion," (of the designed extirpation of the old *English* and the natives, who were Roman Catholics,) "that the earl of Ormonde, in his letters of Jan. 27, and Feb. 25, 1641, to Sir William St. Leger, imputes the general revolt of the nation, then far advanced, to the publishing of such a design," (by the lords justices.)

Carte's Life of the D. of Ormonde, Vol. I. fol. 263.

(x) "A letter was intercepted coming from Scotland to one Freeman of Antrim, giving an account, that a covenanting army was ready to come for *Ireland*, under the command of general Lesley, to extirpate the Roman Catholics of *Ulster*, and leave the Scots

That the *Irish* Papists always alledged their Fears of such Persecution and Extirpation, as their main Incentive to this Rebellion, may be proved, not only from their own public Declarations and Remonstrances ; but also from the (y)Depositions of some of their Enemies themselves.

And what, indeed, seems to put it out of all Doubt, that *such* a Combination was *really* formed, between these Puritan Lords Justices of *Ireland*, and the Heads of the *Independents* in the *British* Parliament, is, That whereas these Lords Justices always pretended that this Rebellion was a dreadful Surprize upon them ; and represented their Unpreparedness and Inexpectancy on that Occasion, as one of the most TERRIBLE Circumstances of it : Yet, it now plainly appears, even from their own partial Historians, that they had often received authentic Notice that such a Design was on Foot, and that, if they did not promote it, they at least used no Endeavours to *prevent* its taking Effect.

“ sole possessors of that province ; and that, to this end a resolution
 “ had been taken in their private meetings and councils, to lay
 “ heavy fines upon such as would not appear at their Kirke, for the
 “ first and second Sunday ; and on failure the third, to hang, with-
 “ out Mercy, all such as were obstinate, at their own Doors. —
 “ This notion,” adds Mr. Carte, “ as appears from a multitude of
 “ depositions taken before Dr. H. Jones, and other commissioners,
 “ prevailed universally among the rebels, and was chiefly insisted
 “ upon by them as one of the principal reasonings of their taking
 “ arms.”

Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I. fol. 235.

(y) Extract from the Examination of Dr. Robert Maxwell, afterwards, for his good services against the Irish rebels, made bishop of Kilmore.

Borl. Hist. Irish Reb. fol. 408.

— And further depose h, that he, this deponent, asked many, both their commanders and fryars, what chiefly moved them to take up arms ? They said, “ why may not we as well, and better, fight
 “ for religion, which is the Substance, than the Scots did for Cere-
 “ monies, which are but Shadows ? — and that my lord Strafford’s
 “ government was intolerable ! ” The deponent answered, that
 “ that government, how insupportable soever, was indifferent, and
 “ lay no heavier upon them, than the rest of the British Protestants.”

Effect. For, (z) Sir *Henry Vane*, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State, in a Letter dated *March 16th, 1640*, (which was delivered to Sir *William Parsons*,) did, by the King's Command, acquaint the Lords Justices, "that his Majesty had Advice "from Abroad, confirmed by his Ministers in "Spain and elsewhere, as if they expected a Rebellion in *Ireland*." And although Sir *Henry* had expressly cautioned them in the said Letter, that, as some good old Soldiers had gone to *Ireland*, on Pretext of asking Leave to raise Men for the King of *Spain*; they should have a watchful Eye on their Proceedings and Actings: "Yet certain it is," (says *Borlase*) "that Col. *John Barry*, Col. *Taafe*, "Col. *Garret Barry*, and Col. *Porter* had all War-rants to transport four thousand Men to *Spain*, "most of whom, thus raised, afterwards betook themselves to the Rebels Service,"---And (a) *Temple* informs us, that "four hundred of these Men, who "remained embarked in the Harbour of *Dublin*, "(even after the Rebellion broke out) under the "Command of Col. *John Barry*, were permitted "by the Lords Justices to land, on the proviso "only that they should not come into the City." Nay, both *Temple* and *Borlase* confess, (b) "that "Sir *William Co's*, upon the very first Apprehensions of Something he conceived to be hatching "among the *Irish*, did write a Letter to the "Lords Justices and Council, dated 11th of *October*

"ber

—They replied, that "the deponent, and the rest of the British, were no considerable Part of the Kingdom; and that, over "and above all this, they were certainly informed, that the parliament of England had a plot to bring all to Church, or to cut off "all the Papists in the King's Dominions; in England, by the "English Protestants, or (as they call them) Puritans; in Ireland, "by the Scots."

(z) *Borl. Hist. of the Irish Reb. See Append.*

(a) *Irish Reb. p. 48.*

(b) *Hist. Irish Reb.*

“ber 1641, wherein he gave them Notice of the
 “great Resort made to Sir *Phelim O Neil* in the
 “County of *Tyrone*, as also to the House of Lord
 “*M’Guire* in the County of *Fermanagh*; and that
 “by several suspected Persons, fit Instruments of
 “Mischief; as also that the said Lord *M’Guire* had
 “of late made several Journies into the Pale,
 “and other Places, and had spent his Time much
 “in writing Letters, and sending Dispatches a-
 “broad; which Letter (adds *Temple*) was received
 “by the Lords Justices and Council;”---not to
 mention the positive Oath (c) of *John Cormack*, one
 of the Witnesses against Lord *M’Guire*, that even
 on the 21st of said Month of *October*, this Con-
 spiracy was revealed to Sir *William Cole*, and No-
 tice of it by him immediately sent by Letter to
 the Lords Justices and Council, although *Temple*
 pretends that such Letter never came to their
 Lordships Hands.

Yet, after so many clear and alarming Intima-
 tions, so careless and unactive were these Lords Jus-
 tices in preventing this Rebellion; nay, so much did
 they connive at, and suffer its breaking forth, that
 when, (within a few Days after the Receipt of Sir
William Cole’s Letter of the 11th of *October*,) *Owen*
O Conolly (d) came about nine o’Clock in the Even-
 ing to Sir *William Parsons*, discovered to him this
 Conspiracy, (painting it out in the most frightful
 Colours,) and gave him the Names of the chief
 Conspirators, assuring him at the same Time that
 they came up to Town expressly for that Purpose,
 and that next Morning they would undoubtedly at-
 tempt and surely effect it, if not prevented: Not-
 withstanding, I say, these repeated Informations,
 Sir *William Parsons* affected (e) “to give so little
 “Be-

(c) *Templ. Hist. Irish Reb.*

(d) *Templ. ibid.*

(e) *Templ. Hist. Ir. Reb.*

“Belief at first to this Matter,” and seemed to think it “*so incredible in itself*,” that, instead of making sure of *O Conolly*, and taking his Examination on the Spot, in Order to have the chief Conspirators arrested with all possible Speed, (which, certainly, would have been the likeliest Way to stifle this Rebellion in its Birth) he behaved in so careless a Manner, on that important Occasion, as if he really wished that no Discovery had been made; nay, and even as if he endeavoured to suppress such Discovery after it was made: For, he not only (*f*) dismissed this *O Conolly*, for that Time, from his Presence, charging him forsooth, to come to him again that Evening; but he even ordered him to go back to Col. *Mc. Mahon*, one of the Chiefs of the Rebels, by whom he was intrusted with the Secret, and who was already grown so jealous of him, that he had resolved to keep him with him all that Night lest he should discover it: But *O Conolly*, on Pretence of answering a Call of Nature, and having left his Hat and Sword with *Mc. Mahon*, as a Pledge of his Intention to return; leaped the Pales, and escaped to Sir *William Parsons*, to inform him of the Conspiracy.

And indeed it was owing to meer Chance, or rather to the Interposition of Providence, that this *only Discoverer* of the Rebellion was afterwards found: For, *O Conolly* not having returned to Sir *William Parsons* at the Time prefixed by his Lordship, (and probably having resolved not to return at all, on Account of the Disregard and Slight with which he had received his Information) it was afterwards judged necessary, at a Meeting of the Council, which was called that Night, that Search should be made after him: And so he was, at length,

(*f*) Ibid.

length, by meer Accident, “ (g) found in the Street,
“ drunk, and seized on by the Watch.”

It was on Account of these dilatory Proceedings of Sir *William Parsons*, that, “ (h) of the great
“ Numbers that came up to be Actors in taking of
“ the Castle and City of *Dublin*, there were not
“ above *thirty* seized upon, most of them Servants
“ and inconsiderable Persons; while *Hugh Byrne*,
“ and *Roger Moore*, Chief of the Conspirators,
“ escaped over the River in the Night; and Col.
“ *Plunket* and Captain *Fox*, with several others,
“ found Means likewise to pass away undiscovered.”

Whoever considers this wilful Neglect in one
(and he the most *active*) of these Lords Justices, to
prevent the Eruption of these Troubles; the Fury
and Inhumanity with which he afterwards carried
on the War, in Order to make these Troubles general;
his and his Colleague’s abruptly proroguing
the Parliament (after only two Days sitting) which
met in *November 1641*, to concert Measures for
bringing the Rebels, then few in Number, to
Justice, and for suppressing the Rebellion; in short,
the Removal of this same Lord Justice *Parsons*,
soon after, from the Government, “ on Account
“ of his being most addicted to the *English* Re-
“ bels, and most pliable to their Ends;” whoever,
I say, impartially considers these things,
will clearly perceive the Combination before-men-
tioned, between the *Puritans* then in Power in both
Kingdoms, to have at first lighted up, and after-
wards spread abroad, the Flames of this Rebel-
lion.

But, to proceed with your Answer, (from which
I have a little digressed, although not at all from
the

(g) Id. ib.

(h) Id. ib.

the Matter in Debate,) the Author of the *DIALOGUE*, having undeniably proved, That this Rebellion was not *unprovoked*; goes on to demonstrate, that it was not (i) *general* in all Parts of the Kingdom, except *Dublin*, in its Beginning, as *Clarendon* and others falsely relate; nor even for some considerable Time after its Beginning, if, indeed, it ever could be said to be general *at all*. And this he has shewn from no less Authority than that of a Letter and Proclamation of the Lords Justices themselves, and from the Journals of the House of Lords in *England*. In Excuse for this scandalous Assertion of *Clarendon*, you are pleased to tell us, that, “(k) it should be considered that “his Lordship, in his History of the Rebellion “in *England* (in which it is found) touches with “a very light Hand on the Rebellion of *Ireland*, “and laboured to throw what he said into a narrow Compass,---that he does not write like an “Annalist,---that his Expression should be taken “with some Allowance,---that he has retracted “this *Mistake*, (if it may be so called---or, this “unguarded Expression after the Example of St. “*Auslin*, forsooth!) in his History of the *Irish* Rebellion; which at least should be some Attonement “for a *small Slip*.” From all which, however, I conclude, that this very common, and material Part of the Charge against the *Irish* Catholics at that

(i) The E. of Clanricarde, in his letter to the E. of Bristol, 14 Nov. 1641, owns that “at first he was on a sudden surprized with “the most fatal news of a desperate rebellion in the North, and a “Rumour of a general Combination and Conspiracy throughout “the Kingdom.”—But, in the same letter he adds, “We begin “to recover our Wits, scared away by the first Reports; and do “discern, that none appears in this detestable conspiracy, or enters “into action, but the Remains of the antient Irish Rebels in the “North, and some in the planted county of Leitrim.”

Memoirs, fol. 15.

(k) Answer, p. 118.

that Time, is fairly given up by you. And I must further acquaint you, Mr. *Harris*, that this *small Slip*, this *unguarded Expression*, or this *Mistake* of his Lordships, is *contradicted* indeed, but not *retracted* by him in his History of the *Irish* Rebellion; just as several Things in this Answer of your's are contradicted by *yourself* in *other* Parts of it; which, however, I believe, you will hardly *allow* to be a formal *Retraction*.

Let me observe further, that, although this Mistake (as you call it) of *Clarendon's* has been long since known to you, and to *many others of your* *Kidney*; yet, it never was, and probably never would have been, thus publicly, contradicted by any of you, if it had not been so clearly pointed out and exposed as it now is in the *DIALOGUE*: On the Contrary, most of your late Writers on this Rebellion have servilely, and dishonestly *copied* that Calumny, with the Rest, from his Lordship and others, almost Word for Word.

I am now come to the dreadful Article of *Murders* and *Massacres*, which these Writers of your's have imputed to the *Irish* Rebels, with an Exaggeration, as to Numbers and Cruelty, exceeding all Belief! Forty or fifty thousand *Protestants*, massacred in cold Blood, in the very first Beginning of this Rebellion, is the smallest Number mentioned by any of them. But the Author of the *DIALOGUE* has affirmed (and you have not contradicted him) that, in the printed Examinations in *Temple* and *Borlase*, there are no Dates that shew, that any *Murders at all* were committed by the *Irish* on the *English*, on the first, second, or third Day of their Insurrection: And you know, Sir, that these Examinations, (such as they are,) are the best, if not only Proof that you are able to produce of the Perpetration of any of these Murders.

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Something, however, you was obliged to say, by Way of Answer to this Remark: And so you tell the Author of the *Dialogue*, a little peevishly, that, "he is mistaken in thinking that, in the Depositions, there are no Dates to the Times (:) of the Commission of these Murders; that Sir John Temple and Doctor Borlase give only very short Abitracts of them, and have for the most Part, though not always, omitted the Dates; that it is but a short Journey to the College-Library; and that there, in thirty-two Volumes of original Depositions, he will find the Omissions rectified." But pray, Sir, are there any Dates in these thirty-two Volumes of original Depositions, which prove that shameless Assertion of Clarendon, viz. that "forty or fifty thousand Protestants were murdered by the Irish, before they suspected themselves in any Danger, or could provide for their Safety; which must have been so early as the first, second, or at (furthest) third Day, after this Rebel'ion broke out? If you knew there were such Dates, why did you not first, particularly cite them in your Answer, and, then, refer to the Originals in the College-Library? If you knew there were not, to what Purpose have you mentioned them at all, on this Occasion? Can these original Depositions furnish you with a Proof, that even as many Protestants were thus cruelly destroyed by the Irish Rebels, at their first Rising out, as there are Volumes of them? It is manifest they cannot; Because, after all your vapouring about them, you have produced Nothing at all material from thence; but are forced (in this, as well as former Exigencies) to have Recourse to the vague and exploded Relations of Temple and Borlase; who, although they had full Liberty to peruse these original Depositions,

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positions, and although *Borlase* inform us, that (m)
 “ in his Time, it was confidently averred by the
 “ *Irish* that not above *seventeen* were killed at the
 “ Beginning of this Insurrection,” did not, how-
 ever, pretend to *disprove* this bold Assertion (as he
 calls it) by the Help of any Dates in these original
 Depositions, or of any other Papers or Records
 whatsoever.

Nay, it is highly probable, That these Dates
 were purposely suppressed, by *Temple* and *Borlase*,
 in the printed Depositions; in Order to render it
 more difficult to the *Irish*, at that Juncture, to ac-
 quit themselves of these imputed Cruelties: For
 the Commission, in Virtue of which Enquiry was
 made into these Cruelties, expressly directs, that
 “ (n) the Day or Night, on which these Outrages
 “ were committed, should be specified.” So that,
 whenever these thirty-two Volumes of original
 Depositions with all their Dates shall be made
 public, as you threaten they some Time or other
 shall; the having suppressed so many of them
 (and of those Dates too in such as have been pub-
 lished) for so long a Time after the Decease of
 all those who might, and on one solemn Occasion
 did, falsify and refute their Contents, will prove
 a just and invincible Bar to their being credited by
 any candid or intelligent Reader.

What has confirmed the Author of the DIA-
 LOGUE in his Opinion that few or no *English* were
 destroyed in the first Beginning of this Rebellion,
 is, a (o) Letter of the Lords Justices and Council
 of

(m) Pref. to Reduct. of Ireland.

(n) See Temple's Hist. of the Ir. Reb. p. 137.

(o) ——— “ On Saturday at 12 of the clock at night, the lord
 “ Blaney came to town, and brought us the ill news of the rebels
 “ seizing, with two hundred men, his house at Castle-Blaney in the
 “ county of Monaghan, and his Wife, Children, and servants; as
 “ also, an house of the E. of Essex, called Carriackmacross, with
 “ two hundred men; and, a house of Sir Henry Spotwood in the

of *Ireland*, to the Lord Lieutenant in *England*, of the 25th of *October* 1641; wherein, although their Lordships have minutely informed his Excellency, of all *other* Mischiefs then done to the *English* by these Rebels,---as of the plundering and burning several of their Houses, &c. they write not a Syllable of Murders committed by any of them; although it appears by that Letter that, “these Rebels then had Lord *Blaney’s* Wife, Children “and Servants, in their Power, as likewise several “other Families, a Plantation of *English*, and the “Inhabitants and Garrison of the Town of *New-ry*.” And it is further observable, that these Lords Justices and Council seem to have disclaimed all Knowledge of such Murders, by adding (after the Mention of the Rebels plundering and burning) these Words, “and this, tho’ too much, is “ALL we yet hear is done by them.”

Your best (p) Answer to this Objection amounts to no more than what the Author of the *DIALOGUE* had furnished you with, and obviated at the same Time; namely the *Possibility* there was, that many Murders might have been committed in *ULSTER* on the 23d of *October* 1641, which might not have

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been

“same county, with two hundred men, where there being a little “Plantation of British, they plundered the town, and burned diverse houses; and it since appears, that they burned diverse other “villages, and robbed, and spoiled many English, and none but “protestants, leaving the English papists untouched as well as the “Irish.

“On Sunday morning at three of the clock, we had intelligence “from Sir Arthur Terringham, that the Irish in the town had that “day also broke open the king’s store of arms, and munition at “Newry, where the store of arms hath lien ever since the peace, “and where they found ninety barrels of powder, and armed “themselves, and put them under the command of Sir Con Mc. “Gennis, and one Creely a monk, and plundered the English “there, and disarmed the garrison: And this, though too much, “is all that we yet hear is done by them.”

Ld. Just. Lett. Templ. Ir. Reb. p. 29.

(p) Answ. p. 124.

been heard of in *Dublin* on the 25th. And, to strengthen this Conjecture, you have supposed that
 “ (q) the Roads were then so beset by the Rebels,
 “ as to prevent the Government’s receiving Intel-
 “ ligence of these Murders, in that Interval of
 “ Time.”---But this *Supposition* is evidently con-
 tradicted by *Temple* himself, where he tells us, that,
 “ (r) on the 24th of *October* Advertisements came
 “ to the Lords Justices from Sir *Arthur Terring-*
ham, of the Taking of *Newry*; and then, (*i. e.*
 as you have explained it, every succeeding Day
 after the 24th) “ the Relations of Burning, Spoiling,
 “ and horrible Murders committed in the Province
 “ of *Uster*, BEGAN TO MULTIPLY.”---By this it
 would seem, that there were in *Dublin* some such
 Relations of horrible Murders *on* or *before* the 24th,
 and, that they *then* began to MULTIPLY there: And
 yet, it appears by the before-cited Letter of these
 Lords Justices and Council, which was subscribed
 by *Temple*, that not one out of this Multiplicity of
 Relations had come to their Lordships, or the
 Council’s Knowledge, even on the 25th of that
 Month! Are not these Things very consistent, Mr.
Harris?---But what (s) *Temple* himself has strange-
 ly confessed, on this Occasion, does totally over-
 turn whatever you, or any other Enemy of the
Irish, can possibly advance in Support of this Ca-
 lumny: For, although he says, without Proof, that
 “ there were *some* Murders committed on the
 “ first Day of these Rebels Rising, and *some Houses*
 “ set on Fire; yet these, he conceives, were, for
 “ the most Part, done out of *private Spleen*, or
 “ where

(q) Answ. p. 125.

(r) *Irish Rebell.* p. 23. “ On the night of the 23d of October,
 “ lord Blaney arrived (in Dublin) with the news of the surprizal of
 “ his house, his wife, and children, by the rebels of the county of
 “ Monaghan.” *Temple*, *ibid.*

(s) *Ir. Reb.*

“ where they had *particular* Instructions so to do.
 “ But *certainly* (proceeds he) that which these
 “ Rebels *mainly intended at first*, AND MOST BUSILY
 “ EMPLOYED THEMSELVES ABOUT, *was the driv-*
 “ *ing away Englishmens Cattle, and possessing them-*
 “ *selves of their Goods.*”

But the Author of the DIALOGUE goes still farther and asserts, that it is highly probable, from the Tenor of (t) a Commission of these Lords

G 3

Justices

(t) “ Charles, by the Grace of God King of England, France,
 “ and Ireland, &c. To our well-beloved * Henry Jones, dean of
 “ Killmore, Roger Puttock, William Hutchcock, Randal Adam,
 “ John Sterne, Wm. Ardrick, Henry Brereton, and John Watson,
 “ Clerks, greeting. Whereas diverse wicked and disloyal people,
 “ have lately risen in arms, in several parts of this kingdom, and
 “ have robbed and spoiled many of our good subjects, British, and
 “ protestants, who have been separated from their several habitations,
 “ and scattered in most lamentable manner; and forasmuch as it is
 “ needful to take due examination concerning the same: Know ye,
 “ that we, reposing special trust and confidence in your care, dili-
 “ gence, and provident circumspection, have nominated and ap-
 “ pointed you to be our commissioners, and do hereby give unto
 “ you, or any two, or more of you, full power and authority, from
 “ time to time, to call before you, and examine upon oath, on the
 “ holy Evangelists (which hereby we authorise any two or more of
 “ you to administer) as well all such persons as have been robbed
 “ and despoiled, as all the Witnesses, that can give testimony there-
 “ in; what robberies and spoils have been committed on them since
 “ the 2^d of October last, or shall hereafter be committed on them,
 “ or any of them; what the particulars were, or are, whereof they
 “ were, or shall be so robbed, or spoiled; to what value; by whom;
 “ what their names are, or where they now or last dwelt, that com-
 “ mitted these robberies? On what Day, or Night, the said rob-
 “ beries, or spoils, committed or to be committed, were done;
 “ what traiterous, or disloyal Words, Speeches, or actions, were
 “ then, or at any other time, uttered or committed, by those rob-
 “ bers, or any of them, and how often; and all other Circum-
 “ stances concerning the said particulars, and every of them: And
 “ you, our said commissioners, are to reduce to writing all the ex-
 “ aminations, &c. and the same to return to our justices and coun-
 “ cil of this our realm of Ireland, &c. Witness our right trusty,
 “ &c. Dub. 23^d Decemb. in the 17th year of our reign. Carekon.”

Temple, Ir. Reb. p. 137.

* Harris himself writes thus of Jones, first named in the com-
 mission, “ Yet he was not so straight-laced, in point of loyalty to

Justices, of the 23d of *December* 1641, that few or no Murders, deemed worthy of the Government's Notice, had been committed by the Rebels, from the Beginning of this Rebellion to the Date of that Commission: "Because, says he, although these Lords Justices have thereby authorized several Gentlemen in *ULSTER*, and other Parts of *Ireland*, to call upon all those who had suffered by this Rebellion, and on the Witnesses of those Sufferings, to give in Examinations of the Nature of them, and of every Circumstance relating to them, expressly and particularly; specifying every other Crime usual in Insurrections, and then committed, or to be committed, in this; as Plunder, Robbery, and even traiterous Words, Actions and Speeches: Yet their Lordships have given no Power to enquire after nor made any Mention of, *Murders*, in that Commission." And what he thinks should render this Silence and Omission of these Lords Justices extremely wonderful, among other Things, is, that we are told by Sir *John Temple* and his Copyers, that at this very Juncture of Time, that is, in the two first Months of this Rebellion, "MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND Protestants HAD BEEN MASSACRED IN COLD BLOOD BY THE REBELS."

In Answer to this, you tell us, that (u) "it would have been superfluous to direct an Enquiry into Murder, in that Commission, *it not being the Intent of it.*" But I must inform you, Sir, that you and your infallible Friend, *Temple*, differ very widely

"his prince, and benefactor (who made him a bishop) but that he could accept of an employment under the usurper of his crown; for we are told that he was Scout-Master-Generall to Oliver Cromwell's Army, a post not so decent for one of his Function." *Irish Bishops*, fol. 1^o.

widely as to this Particular: For, he positively asserts, that (w) “ this Commission was sent down, “ that it might appear---what Cruelties were acted “ ---*what Murders committed*, and who were the chief “ Actors in them, throughout the several Pro- “ vinces :”---And in the following Page, he acquaints us that “ by Examinations taken in Vir- “ tue of *this Commission*, the Perpetrators of *many “ most horrid Murders* were discovered.” To which also, your other Favorite, and Oracle, Doctor (x) *Borlase*, has given his unerring Sanction.

As to what you have further answered, on this Occasion, that “ it may be made manifestly appear “ that Numbers of Murders were committed by “ the *Irish* on the *English* between the 23d of “ *October* and the 23d of *December*, by printed “ Books, and Depositions of Witnesses, and public “ Instruments”---Let me tell you, Sir, that in all these you have only set up, rejected, or, (at best) disputed Authority against plain Reason and Matters of Fact. That your *printed Books of Temple and Borlase*, and the Depositions of Witnesses contained in them, can have no Sort of Weight with sensible unprejudiced People, hath been already made out in the DIALOGUE, and confirmed in this LETTER. As for those Proofs, which you have drawn from a Proclamation and Commission of the Lords Justices, *Parsons and Borlase*; know *First*, that we are not obliged to credit any Thing that comes from *that* Quarter, although you are; because these Lords Justices were not only avowed and implacable Enemies, as I have already shewn, to all the *Irish* Catholics of those Times, but Protectors and Abettors, as I shall presently shew, of the puritan Rebels then in *Ireland*, whom you
dignify

(w) Ir. Reb. p. 137.

(x) Ir. Reb. fol. 70, 71.

dignify with the Name of Protestants, and whose Cause you openly espouse. Know, *secondly*, that, even in these public Instruments, there is no Number specified of such as are said to have been *slain* by the *Irish* Rebels; but vague and general Intimations only: Nor is there any Mention made whether they were so slain in *Battle*, or in *cold Blood*. So that you can bring no Proof from these Instruments, even though they were allowed to be authentic, that any *certain*, or *considerable* Number of Murders, properly so called, were committed by the *Irish* on the *English*, at any Time before the Dates of them.

But the Author of the DIALOGUE never intended to assert, that *none* of the *Irish* Rebels had been guilty of Murder, *before* the 23d of *December*, 1641. In *that* Place, he meant only to point out and refute your barbarous Exaggerations of those Murders, as to *Number* and *Cruelty*: So that, after all your fruitless Attempts to evince, (what he would have readily granted you) that some of the (y) provoked *Irish* Rebels were guilty in that Respect, before the said 23d of *December*; you have left the *main* Part of his Argument, taken from these Lords Justices Commission of that Date (and proving that the Murders committed by them were not so *remarkable*, either for *Number* or *Barbarity*, as to be thought worthy of the Government's Notice) quite *unanswered*.

I am

(y) " It is most evident, that the lords justices, Par'ons and Borsale, did, by their Authority, command many things, which did not only exasperate. but render the Irish desperate, as will appear by several of their own letters, and public acts of state; and that in the first irruption of the Rebellion, they had a greater eye to the Forfeitures of the Rebels Estates, than to use such means, as might, by the Hopes of Pardon, induce the better Sort of the Nobility and Gentry, to hear reason, and come in, and submit themselves to his Majesty's mercy, tho' they had express Directions from the King, and the two houses of parliament so to do."

Dr. Nalson's Introduct. to Hist. Collect. v. 2d.

I am now going to give you some Cause of *Triumph*; but must caution you before-hand against being too much *elated* by it.---The Author of the DIALOGUE confesses, That the Passage in a marginal Note, said to be taken from Sir *William Petty*, and importing, that the Numbers killed by the *Irish*, in the Field, and in cold Blood, during this whole War, did not exceed thirty-six thousand; is altogether *misquoted*: But he denies that it was, as you affirm, falsified by him, with an Intent to deceive his Readers. You are, by this Time, sadly convinced, that he stood not in Need of so *piti-ful* a Shift: Nay, he might, if he pleased, have passed over that Mistake, in Silence; as it is no Part of the DIALOGUE itself, for which only he thinks himself answerable. The Truth is, that Passage was inserted, as a marginal Note, by an over-busy and too credulous Person, in whose Hands the DIALOGUE lay for some Time before it was printed: And even that Person did not falsify it on Purpose to deceive any Body; but took it, Word for Word, at second-hand, from, what you yourself lay some Stress upon, a *printed Book*, written by *Hugh Reilly*, Esquire, and published in the Year 1742, where, in Page 22, you will find it literally, as it stands in that marginal Note.

But, suppose, for the present, I should grant both you and Sir *William Petty*, that thirty-seven thousand *English* were massacred, as he computes, by the *Irish* Rebels, in the first Year of this Rebellion, (a Charge, however, which never yet has been, nor never can be *proved*) will you not allow me, in your Turn, what is an incontestible Fact, that Sir *William Petty* was a great (z) Gainer by the Forfeitures, and a declared Enemy to the Proceedings

(z) " He was secretary to Ireton, the regicide, and made an estate of about 5, or 6,000 pounds per annum, by the Forfeitures." Harris's Writers of Irel. fol. 357.

ceedings of these Rebels ; and consequently, that this Account of his should be looked upon rather as exaggerating, than favourable, to them ?---I cannot think you will deny me this : And what then, Sir, will you say of *Clarendon's* inhuman Aggravation of it, in mounting up the Number of these Massacres, on the first Day or two of this Rebellion, to forty or fifty thousand ?---In what Light will even *you* consider the horrible Affirmation of *Temple*, and his numerous Copyers, that, “ in the two “ first Months of it, more than one hundred and “ fifty thousand *Protestants* were massacred in cold “ Blood ?” and that chiefly in *Ulster* ! But, as the shocking Absurdity of this last-mentioned Calumny, and the absolute Impossibility of the Fact itself, have been clearly demonstrated by others, and, in Particular, by Lord *Castlemain*, in his *Catholic Apology* ; I shall here only, for the same Purpose, submit the following Particulars to the Reader's Consideration :---1st. Few or none of the *English* are pretended to have been massacred at the Beginning of this Rebellion, in *Ulster*, who lived in strong Houses, Castles, or walled Towns ; and the straggling Inhabitants of the Country at large (who by the Way, were mostly *Irish*) are chiefly said to have suffered such Destruction : Of this, *Borlase* has given us several remarkable Instances and Proofs ; and one particularly, where he tells us, that “ (a) Sir *Francis Hamilton* did not lose in the “ whole Service (against the Rebels) from the 23^d “ of *October*, 1641, to the 15th of *June*, 1642, “ setting aside such as were cut off in straggling, “ more than five Men.”---2^{dly}. The *English*, in many Places, upon the first Rising of the *Irish*, “ (b) possessed themselves of some Forts, strong “ Holds,

(a) Ir. Reb.

(b) Id. Ir. Rebel.

“ Holds, and Castles, which, though very ill provided, they did for many Months, nay, for some Years, defend.”----3dly, Immediately, upon the breaking out of this Rebellion, (c) great Troops of those *English*, Men, Women and Children, who dwelt in the open Country, fled from *Ulster* to *Dublin*; “ and these were so numerous and burthenfome, says, *Borlase*, (d) as, though *Thousands* were shipped away soon after they arrived, and such as could serve in the Army were *daily* enlisted; yet they brought so great an *Extremity and Want of Provisions* to *Dublin*, as the Inhabitants were reduced to great *Exigency*.”

Now Sir, if to all this we add, that in the Year 1633, as Lord *Wentworth* informs us, (e) “ upon a Command of the Lords Justices for a View
“ to

(c) *Id. ib.* See note (a) in page 75.

(d) *Ibid.* “ Sir William Cole, from the 23d October, 1641, to some time in 1642, killed with his regiment (consisting of 500 foot and one troop of horse) in several fights and skirmishes 2417 swordsmen of the rebels, and starved and famished of the vulgar Sort, (whose goods were seized on by this regiment) 7000; English and Scotch protestants, rescued from bondage, and relieved by this regiment, 5467.—After this rate, says *Borlase*, the English in all parts fought, &c. *Ib.* fol. 112, 3. Sir Frederick Hamilton, about the first of July 1642, entered *Sligo*, burned the town, freed many protestants, slew in the streets three hundred of the Irish.” &c. *Id. ib.*

“ The lord *Dungarvan*, and the lord *Broghill*, summoning the castle of *Admore* in the county of *Waterford*, &c. it was yielded the 21st of August 1642 on Mercy; women and children being spared, but a hundred and forty Men were put to the Sword.”

Borl. Hist. of the Irish Reb. fol. 111.

How gallantly the English defended their castles, and for how long a time after the rebellion broke out. See the same fol. 111, 102, &c.

(e) *State-Letters*, vol. 1. Even the great cities of Ireland were but thinly peopled about that time. “ August 8, 1644, the citizens of *Dublin* were numbered, and found to be, of Protestants, two thousand, five hundred, and sixty-five men, and two thousand, nine hundred, and eighty-six women; of Papists, one thousand, two hundred, and two men; and one thousand, two hundred, and four women.” *Ware.* fol. 181.

“ to be taken, through *Ulster*, of all the *British* (Men) between sixteen and three-score, there were certified back 13092 *only* ;” we shall find, that (allowing all reasonable Increase of the *British*, as to Men, Women, and Children, in that Province, during the eight intervening Years, from 1633 to 1641 ; and at the same Time, deducting from thence those vast Multitudes which, one Way or other, escaped the Fury of the Rebels, either by their own Prowess, their Flight to *Dublin*, or by living in strong Places,) it will evidently follow, that not even *the hundred and fiftieth Part of the British Protestants* could have been destroyed in cold Blood, (even though they had made no Defence at all,) in the two first Months of this Rebellion, that are *said* to have been so destroyed.

As for the Manuscript, quoted in the same marginal Note, “ which (you modestly say) you must consider, like the Quotation from *Petty*, as an Imposition on the Reader ;” it now lies before me, and is intitled, *A Letter to a Person of Quality concerning the Acts of Settlement* ; it is supposed to have been written by Sir *Richard Nagle*, Attorney-General in *Ireland* in the Reign of *James II.* and the Passage referred to in it relating to this Rebellion is, Word for Word, as follows.

“ *I shall not excuse any Subjects presuming to take Arms, upon any Account or Pretence whatsoever, without the Authority of their Prince ; I will only say, that by the Insurrection (of the Irish) how bloody and barbarous soever some are pleased to paint, and print it, 400 English could not be found murdered in Ireland, as appeareth by the Proceedings and Records, yet extant in Dublin, of the usurped Powers severe Enquiry, and of their Courts of Justice ; which for Want of Men, did hang Women, not only without legal Proof, but*
“ without

“ without any Probability, that they could or would
 “ be guilty of killing Soldiers or innocent *English*.”

Whether or no you could, or would find, the Records and Proceedings here appealed to, is not at present material; it is not improbable, that they have been long since destroyed by Men of your Stamp, whose Interest, or Malice, hath ever prompted them to blacken the unhappy *Irish*, as much as possible, in this Article of Murders; but that these Records were then extant in *Dublin*, and to be seen, there is the greatest Reason to believe, both from the *Appeal* itself, and from the Profession of the Person who is supposed to have made it. You have disingenuously omitted what immediately follows in that Note, because it shews that the Author of the *DIALOGUE* did not design to impose upon his Readers by inserting it, *viz.* “ Those who have an Opportunity of consulting these Records, which I have not had, may soon satisfy themselves as to this Particular.

With Regard to what you have subjoined, that (f) “ this Manuscript refers *only* to the Records of “ the usurped Powers, so that” (say you) “ the “ Massacres of the *first seven or eight Years* are “ omitted by that Author, which makes a material Variance :” This Inference, Sir, I must needs tell you, is a gross Mistake; and (to return you a Compliment, which you have been pleased to make the Author of the *DIALOGUE*, on another Occasion) it is a Mistake “ (g) perhaps of Ignorance : For I cannot think any Gentleman would “ knowingly assert a *notorious Lie*.” For you will find in Lord *Lowther’s* (h) Speech, upon opening one of these Courts of Justice, instituted by the usurped Powers, in *February, 1652*, “ that they were *authorized*

H

“ rized

(f) Answ. p. 133.

(g) *Ibid.* p. 187.

(h) *Parl. Hist. of Great Brit. Vol. 367.*

“ rized to hear and determine all Murders and Maf-
 “ facres done or committed since the *first Day* of
 “ *October, 1641,*” (two and twenty Days before the
 Rebellion broke out,) “ that is to say,” adds his
 Lordship, “ The Actors, Contrivers, Counsellors,
 “ Advisers, Promoters, Abettors, Aiders, and As-
 “ sistors, of any of the said Murders or Maf-
 “ facres ; or killing, after Quarter given.”---So
 that you see, Sir, there was Time, and Scope
 enough allowed by these Courts to bring in vast
 Multitudes as guilty of Murder ; “ and yet the
 “ Number of those who suffered, says (i) *Borlase,*
 “ exceeded not *two hundred.*”

How illegal, tyrannical, and bloody, these
 Courts of Justice were, especially in *Ireland*, is
 sufficiently known. The *Protestant Author* of
 the *brief Chronicle of the civil Wars of England,*
Ireland and Scotland (k) says of them, that “ the
 “ Nation (*Ireland*) was so generally scared, and in
 “ such a Fright, that happy was he, who could
 “ get out of it : For *no Articles were pleadable* in
 “ them ; and against a Charge of Things done
 “ *twelve Years before,* little or no Defence could be
 “ made : And the Cry that was made of Blood,
 “ aggravated with the Expressions of so much
 “ Horror, and the no less daunting Aspect of the
 “ Court, quite confounded the amazed Prisoners,
 “ so that they came, *like Sheep to the Slaughter, &c.*”
 The Author of the *History of Independency* pro-
 perly enough calls these Courts of Justice, “ *Crom-*
 “ *well's SLAUGHTER-HOUSES.*”

I will conclude this Head with the Testimonies
 of two co-temporary Writers, of whom, though
Papists, you seem to entertain a very good Opi-
 nion. The first is he, whom you are pleased to
 call

(i) Ibid.

(k) P. 617.

call (l) "that truly rare Swan of his Communion,
 "the loyal and honest *Peter Walsh*," who de-
 "clares, that, " (m) after using the greatest Dili-
 "gence, in the Year 1662, to inform himself
 "rightly on this Subject, out of every particular
 "County of *Ireland*, he reduced the Number of
 "Protestants, murdered in cold Blood by the Po-
 "pish Conspirators, even to that Lowness, that
 "they did not in all amount to more than some
 "few Hundreds," (instead of those (n) Hundreds
 H 2 of

(l) Answ.

(m) Lett. to the Bish. of Lincoln. p. 225, in the Collect.

(n) "Sir William Petty computes the British (including therein
 "both English and Scotch) to be, before the rebellion, in proportion
 "to the Irish (in Ireland) as two to eleven; at which rate, there
 "were about two hundred and twenty thousand British in the whole
 "Kingdom. Now it is certain, that the great body of the English
 "was settled in Munster, and Leinster, where very few Murders
 "were committed; and that in Ulster, which was the dismal scene
 "of the massacre, there were above one hundred thousand Scots,
 "who, before the general plantation of it, had settled in great
 "numbers in the county of Down, and Antrim, and new shoals of
 "them had come over upon the plantation of the six escheated
 "counties, and they were so very powerful therein, that the Irish,
 "either out of fear of their numbers, or for some other political
 "reason, spared those of that Nation (making Proclamation, on
 "Pain of Death, that no Scotchmen should be molested in Body,
 "Goods, or Lands, &c.)—it cannot, therefore, reasonably be
 "presumed, that there were at most above twenty thousand English
 "Souls of all Ages and Sexes in Ulster, at this time; and of these,
 "as appears by the lords justices letter, March 4th, 1641-2 there
 "were several Thousands got safe to Dublin, &c. besides six thou-
 "sand women and children whom Capt. Mervyn saved in Fermanagh;
 "and others that got safe to Derry, Colerain, Carricfergus."

Carte's Life of the D. Orm. V. 1st. f. 177. 8.

— "At this present, the rigor of incensed forces falls in a
 "manner equally not only upon the capital offenders, and others
 "less criminal, but even upon well-deserving Servitors, Natives of
 "this Kingdom, which, in my poor opinion, and observation, will
 "retard your service, and put all in Desperation; and for my own
 "particular, it will not only disable me from service, but draw a
 "certain Ruin upon me, having not the honour to have English
 "forces under my command; but what I am to act, being to be
 "performed by those that conceive themselves destined to Destruction,
 "let their Endeavours be never so loyal."

Marq. of Clan, Let. to the King, June 28th, 1642.

of Thousands, with which they are charged ;) and these Murders too, as he (o) elsewhere asserts, were “ committed by a very few of the rude “ *Rabble.*” “ (p) This.” adds *Walsh*, “ I did “ attest publicly, and in Print, to the Duke “ of *Ormonde* himself ;” whom, you will allow, he could not have easily deceived in this Matter.

The other Writer, whose Testimony I am going to produce, is the Earl of *Castlehaven*, “ a Man,” (q) you say, “ of Sense and Candour, and whose “ Evidence, in most Particulars, you acquiesce in.” This Nobleman then (r) is “ certain, that, in “ Sir *John Temple*’s Muster-rolls, of whom the “ *subsequent Scribblers* borrowed all their Catalogues, “ *Hundreds* are mentioned as murdered, that lived “ many Years after ; nay some,” adds his Lordship, “ at this Day, (1684) alive.” “ He believes “ indeed that great Cruelties were committed on the “ *English*, and that they were very bloody on both “ Sides ; but that not the *twentieth Part* of the Cru- “ elties, said to be committed on the *English*, were “ actually committed.” “ And though,” concludes his Lordship, “ some will throw all upon the *Irish* ; “ yet, it is well known *who they* were that used to “ give Orders to their Parties, sent into the Ene- “ my’s Quarters, to spare neither Man, Woman, “ nor Child.”

Now, Sir, if you have any Doubt *who the Persons were*, that used to give these Orders, consult the Earl of *Clarendon*, and he will inform you, that the Lords Justices, *Parsons* and *Borlase*,

— “ The resolution taken to prosecute the war with that Se-
“ verity in general, &c. hath moved general Distractiön, and armed
“ most Men with Desperation.” Marq. of Clan. Let. to the
Lords Justices, June 27th, 1642.

(o) Reply to a Person of Quality’s Answer, p. 135.

(p) Let. to the Bishop of Lincoln.

(q) Answ. p. 116.

(r) Memoirs, p. 39.

lase, on Pretence of Cruelties first practised by the *Irish*, in this Rebellion, (s) “*had forbidden any Quarter to be given to, and taken all the Ways to incense the Soldiers against, the Irish Nation.*” And, what evidently shews that these Orders were not restrained to the guilty *Irish* only ; but that they comprehended the Generality of that People, the *Innocent* as well as the *nocent*, his Lordship has subjoined an Instance of the bloody Execution of them in *Dublin*, with the Approbation of the Government itself, and against the earnest Remonstrance of the Marquis of *Ormonde*, in the Person of Mr. *Higgins*, who had the amplest Testimony of several *Protestants*, not only that he was *guiltless* of Rebellion and Murder, but also, that, by his Power and Influence on the Rebels, he had saved the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes, of many of his Majesty’s Protestant Subjects (t).

With great Reason, therefore, has it been observed, that, whatever were the Cruelties committed on the *English*, in the Course of this Rebellion, by the *exasperated* and ungovernable Rabble of the *Irish* ; (and I doubt not but they were *barbarous enough*) yet certainly those committed by the (u) *English* on them, were much more *heinous*

H 3

and

(s) Hist of the Irish Reb. p. 153.

(t) See Clarend. Hist. of the Ir. Rebell.

(u) “ May 28th, 1642, these lords justices issued out a general order to the Commanders of all garrisons, not to presume to hold any correspondence or intercourse with any of the Irish, or papists dwelling or residing in any place near or about their garrisons ; or to give Protection, Immunity, or Dispensation from Spoil, burning or other Prosecution of War, to any of them ; but to prosecute all such Rebels, harborers or relievers of rebels, from place to place, with Fire and Sword, according to former Commands, and Proclamations, in that behalf. Such, (continues Carte,) was the constant tenour of their orders, though they knew that the soldiers in executing them, murdered all Persons promiscuously, not sparing (as they tell the commissioners for Irish affairs in their letter of June 7th, 1642) the Women, and sometimes not Children.”

Carte’s Life of the Duke of Ormonde, V. 1st. fol. 323.

and *shameful*, as being expressly ordered by Persons, (w) who had Power and Command over the Actors of them, and even by the (x) Lords Justices themselves.

And

(w) " Lord Forbes's forces (says the Earl of Clanricarde) left but an ill memory in Gallway, and have taken possession of Lady's Church, the ancient burial-place of the town, upon their departure, they not only defaced the church, but digged up the Graves and burned the Coffins and Bones of those that were buried there."

Letter to Lord Falkland, October 26th, 1642.

" While I was at Tirellan (continues the same) in Treaty with his Lordship, (Forbes) and that my lord president (Ranelagh) was there with him in the fort (of Gallway) I could see the Country on Fire, my tenants houses and goods burned and four or five poor innocent Creatures, Men, Women, and Children, inhumanly killed by some of his Forces."

Clanric. ib. Mem. fol. 266.

" It was generally believed, (says the same nobleman) and in many things appeared, that he (Sir William Parsons) was grown to be one of those, that most maliciously hated the Nation, without distinction of any, and was most industrious to advance the parliament's designs, in Opposition to his Majesty, that had raised him from nothing."

Clanric. Mem. fol. 403.

— " Their (the lords justices) proceedings towards me (says the marquis of Clanricard) being so laid, as if the design were to force me and mine into rebellion," &c. 26th October, 1642. Id. Mem. fol. 180.

Lords Justices and Council to the Marquis of Clanricard.

— " We must give you this necessary caution, that you accept not any Submission from them, (the rebels) other than those you have bound yourself to by the protections you sent us ; (which is to stand until his Majesty's pleasure be signified, unless they violate it by new crimes) but that you prosecute them with Fire and Sword ; and so take just Vengeance against them for their treacherous Rebellion."

Clanric. Mem.

(x) Lords Justices Letter to the Earl of Ormonde.

" After our hearty commendations ; we the lords justices have received your lordship's letter of this day's date ; which we communicated with the council, and having taken the same into our serious consideration, after deliberate advertisement thereof at this board, we have thought fit to return your lordship this answer :

" That, calling to mind the reasons moving this board to take the resolution expressed in our order dated the 3d of this Month, concerning the present expedition, and considering diverse other weighty reasons now appearing to us in council ; and for that we have by our last letters into England, as your lordship knows, made known thither, that your lordship with 3000 foot, and 500

And this leads me, once more, to consider the Extent and Generality of this Rebellion, which the Author of the *DIALOGUE* has proved, from the concurring Testimonies of *Clarendon* and other *Protestant* Writers, to have been not only *infinitely less* than what is commonly represented, but also to have proceeded from the same Cause (the Tyranny of these Lords Justices) which at first gave Birth to the Insurrection itself. “It is not,” (y) says his Lordship, *Clarendon*, “the Purpose of this Discourse, to lay the Imputation of this Rebellion and savage Cruelty upon all the *Irish* and Catholics of that Kingdom, of whom many Persons of Honour were never, *in the least Degree, tainted with that Corruption*; but on the contrary have always given as signal Testimonies of *Affection and Duty to the King*, and of their *Detestation* of
“ that

“ horse, was immediately to march into the Pale, to burn, spoil, and destroy the rebels of the Pale, without excepting of any; and for that the direction we expected forth of England concerning the lords of the Pale, did not concern this matter; we therefore think fit, first, that according to that order of this board, you pass not beyond the river of Boyne, but march in such places between the Boyne and the sea, as your lordship shall think fit. Secondly, that those that offer to come in, be in no other Manner taken in, than as Prisoners, taken by the Power and Strength of his Majesty's Arms, as in truth it is: And if any of them come to the army, that it be the Soldiers that seize on them, before they have Access to your Lordship, and that afterwards they be denied Access to your Person. Thirdly, that no difference be made between the noblemen that are rebels, and other rebels; but that their houses and goods be dealt with as other rebels, and in the same manner, as in our order dated the 3d of this month is expressed, which we now again recommend to your lordship's observation, &c. 9th of March, 1641.

“ William Parsons, John Borlase, R. Dillon, J. Temple,

“ Charles Coote, Th. Rotheram, Fran. Wil-

“ loughby, R. Meredith.

“ When your lordship shall have perused and signed the inclosed, we pray you to cause it to be conveyed to Sir Henry Tichbourn.

“ To our very good lord, James Earl of Ormonde.”

Nelson's Hist. Collect. Carte's Coll. of Lett.

(y) Hist. of the Irish Rebellion, Dub. Ed. p. 9, &c.

“ that odious and bloody Defection, as any of his
 “ Majesty’s Subjects of either of his Majesty’s
 “ other Kingdoms have done, whose Memory
 “ must with equal Justice and Care, be trans-
 “ mitted to Posterity, as *precious Examples of Ho-*
 “ *nour and Integrity*: OTHERS, (of the *Irish*) were
 “ by the *Passion* and *Rigour* of those, who were
 “ then in Authority, and had Power enough to
 “ destroy whom they had *Inclination to suspect*
 “ *or accuse, driven to put themselves under the Protection*
 “ *of those, whose Ways and Courses they totally disapprov-*
 “ *ed*; and many, who were by Misinformation, and
 “ Misbelief engaged in the carrying on, and,
 “ possibly, in the contriving of the War and In-
 “ surrection, were *Enemies* to those Actions of
 “ Blood, Rapine and Inhumanity, which disho-
 “ nour any War; and *grew quickly willing to repair*
 “ *the Breaches* they had made, and *return to the Duty*
 “ they had violated.” And yet, these, so return-
 ing, were, by two express Orders of these Lords
 Justices, (the *first* of the 3d, and the *second* of the
 9th of *March, 1641.*) to be dealt with as (z) *Pri-*
soners of War, and given up to the *Mercy of Sol-*
diers, whom their Lordships had before taken all
 Ways to incense against them, and who thirsted
 after Nothing more ardently, than the Blood of the
Irish, of what Age, Sex, or Condition soever they
 were. His Lordship, a little after, having men-
 tioned the Reasons, which compelled his Majesty
 to commit the whole Management of that War to
 his two Houses of Parliament in *England*, adds
 these Words, “ who again interested and intrust-
 “ ed such Members of their own Body, with the
 “ ordering and directing of the same, as were
 “ RESOLVED, with most PASSION, UNCHARITA-
 “ BLENES,

(z) Dr. Nalf. *Introduct. to Hist. Collect.* Vol. 2d. See the Note
 (x) in page 78. See also Appendix.

“BLENESS, and VIOLENCE, to prosecute that WHOLE
 “NATION, and the RELIGION that was MOST
 “EXERCISED THERE.”

It was, probably, upon reviewing these Passages, and others of the like Import in the same History, that you have said, somewhat snappishly (*a*), “I told you before, that I was not an Advocate
 “for Lord *Strafford*, nor am I for these Lords
 “Justices;” by which you seem to *confess* the Equity of the Charge against them: And, yet, so obstinate are you in *opposing* every Truth in the DIALOGUE, that in the very next Page, and in flat Contradiction to *Clarendon* and *yourself*, you suggest that “these Lords Justices applied *Leni-*
tives, instead of *Corrosives*; *Moderation* and *Sweet-*
ness, instead of *Passion* and *Rigour*; for reducing
 “a rebellious Nation to Obedience.”---But I will leave you to your *Inconsistencies*; and proceed to point out those particular Instances of the *cruel* and arbitrary Proceedings of these Lords Justices, which are mentioned in the DIALOGUE, as the *Causes* of this Rebellion’s at last becoming so extensive as it is confessed to have been.

The *first* of these Instances, is, their Lordships
 (*b*) abrupt, and peremptory, Prorogation of the
 Par-

(*a*) Answ. p. 134.

(*b*) “There never could be stronger and more pressing reasons for
 “the sitting of a parliament, than there was at this time: for, to
 “say nothing of the rebellion, the Graces lately granted by the
 “King, and so much desired by the Nation, which arrived in Ire-
 “land too late to be passed in the last Session, were to be enacted in
 “this, and were expected with great impatience by the merchants,
 “who were to be eased in the rates of customs and licences of ex-
 “portation; by the gentlemen, for the Security of their Estates
 “against the Avarice and Rapine of needy Ministers and Projectors
 “(by which they had been plagued and harrassed for forty Years
 “past), and indeed by all sorts of men throughout the nation, who
 “were in one respect or other to find relief, convenience, and ad-
 “vantage thereby.”

Carte’s Life of the D. of Ormonde, Vol. I. p. 239.

Parliament, after only two Days sitting, which had met in *November*, 1641, to concert Measures for suppressing this Rebellion: In Answer to which Instance, you have related a silly Story from *Borlase*, which ~~he~~ had picked up from (c) *Temple*, “of the Necessity there was of adjourning the Terms, and “of an equal Necessity of proroguing the Parliament:” On which Occasion you have inserted, at large, the *weighty* Surmises of the former of these *ingenious* Writers, which you would palm upon us as Matter of *Fact*, viz. That, “more “were tainted with the Infection, than appeared “in the Rebellion:” And so you would *infer*, that (d) “it was an Action of *Wisdom* to prorogue the Parliament, at that critical Juncture; “because it was thought there were so many disaffected *Papists* in it.” But, Sir, if there was, *at the same Time*, so vast a Majority of *Protestants* in that Parliament, as you (e) affirm there was; what, in the Name of Wonder, had *they*, or the *Government* to fear from the *so much smaller Number* of *Papists* in it, even *though they were disaffected*, of which, however, you are not able to produce the least Colour of a Proof?

But I will give you an authentic Account of the hasty Prorogation of that Parliament, and of the *Motives* thereof, in the Words of the Earl of *Castlehaven*, who sate in it, and “whose Evidence, “in most Particulars, you acquiesce in.”

His Lordship, after having (f) recited the loyal and unanimous Protestation of both Houses of that Parliament, “that they would, if necessary, take “up Arms, and with their Lives and Fortunes “endeavour to suppress this Rebellion;” proceeds
in

(c) Answ. p. 139.

(d) Ib. 140, 141.

(e) Ib. 139.

(f) *Memoirs*, p. 34, &c. See *Borlase's Irish Rebellion*.

in this Manner : “ Thus, both Houses of Parliament, the true Representative of the Nation’s Loyalty, unanimously declared their Readiness to prosecute and suppress the Rebels : And, in Order to bring them speedily to condign Punishment, having with all possible Zeal and Alacrity, offered their Lives and Fortunes to the Lords Justices, they fell immediately to consider of the most effectual Means to do the Work. But, *this Way of proceeding did not, it seems, square with the Lords Justices Designs*, who were often heard to say, that *the more were in Rebellion, the more Lands should be forfeit to them* : And therefore, in the very Heat of the Business, they resolved upon a Prorogation ; which the Parliament understanding, the Lord Viscount *Costelloe* and *myself* were sent from the Lords House, and others from the Commons, to the Lords Justices, to desire the Continuance of the Parliament ’till the Rebels, *then few in Number*, were reduced : But our Address was slighted, and the Parliament, the next Day prorogued (g), to the great Surprise of both Houses, and the *general Dislike of all honest, and knowing Men*.

And to shew you, that this abrupt Prorogation of the Parliament did actually produce those mischievous Effects, which the Author of the DIALOGUE asserts these Lords Justices wished for, and

(g) “ This prorogation of the Irish parliament, to February 24th, gave a general distaste, particularly to the Roman Catholics, who were like to be the greatest Sufferers thereby, and to lose the Benefit of those Graces, which were intended for their particular Relief. The earl of Ormonde, lord Dillon of Costellogh, and some others (of the council) urged, among other things, against the Prorogation, That all the Nation was in great Expectation of the Graces, and would be strangely uneasy, if they were not confirmed in Parliament.”

Carte’s Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I. p. 222.

and expected (*b*) from it; the Earl of *Castlehaven* adds, "This encouraged the Rebels, and vastly increased their Numbers, in divers Places of the Kingdom."

But now you seem to have changed your Note, with regard to the Earl of *Castlehaven*, and very gravely tell us, that you (*i*) "pay great Defence to his Lordship, as a *Nobleman*; but that as a *Writer* you make no Difference between him, and the Author of the *DIALOGUE*;" by which strange and ridiculous Distinction, you have indeed made the Author of the *DIALOGUE* a Compliment, which, I am sure, you never intended him.

But, whatever you may think of the Earl of *Castlehaven*, either as a Nobleman, or a Writer; the Reasons which his Lordship has brought, to prove the Vanity of suspecting the Roman-Catholics in that Parliament, will certainly gain Credit with every *unbigotted Protestant* Reader. His Lordship goes on thus:---(*k*) "But the greatest Discontent of all, was about the Lords Justices proroguing the Parliament, *the only Way the Nation had to express their Loyalty, and prevent their being misrepresented to their Sovereign*; which, had it been permitted to sit for any reasonable Time, would, in all Likelihood, without any great Charge or Trouble, *have brought the Rebels to Justice*: For, the War, that afterwards

" en-

(*b*) "Dr. Nalson tells us, that he had seen some minutes of the council-board of Ireland, which aver, that Sir Charles Coote said there, that when Sir Luke Fitzgerald misdemeaned himself before the board, by uncivil words towards a member of the board, he let him have the Line, and would not reprehend him, in Hopes that he would go into Rebellion: for he saw he would do so; and that the more there were in Rebellion, it was the better."

Carte, *ibid.* fol. 260.

(*i*) *Anst.* p. 142.

(*k*) *ibid.* p. 40.

“ensued, was headed and carried on, principally,
 “by *Members that sate in that Parliament*. And, to
 “say these Members were all along concerned
 “in the Rebellion, or engaged with the first Con-
 “trivers of it, is to make them not only the great-
 “est Knaves, but the *veryest Fools* on Earth; since,
 “otherwise, they could not have been so earnest
 “for the Continuance of the Parliament, *while*
 “*sitting in the Castle and under the Lords Justices*
 “*Guards,*(*l*) who, upon the least Intelligence, which
 “could not long be wanting, had no more to do,
 “but to *shut the Gates, and make them all Prisoners,*
 “*without any Possibility of Escape, or Hopes of Re-*
 “*demption.*”

His next Instance of the *cruel* and arbitrary Proceedings of these Lords Justices is this :---“Al-
 “though his Majesty, and both Houses of the *Eng-*
 “*lish* Parliament, had recommended it to them, to
 “bestow his Majesty’s gracious Pardon to *all* such,
 “(without *Distinction*) as should, within a conveni-
 “ent Time, return to their Obedience: Yet, (*m*)
 “these Lords Justices did, by their Proclamation,
 “*limit* these (*n*) his Majesty’s and the Parliament of
 “*England’s* favourable and *general* Intentions to
 “the Inhabitants of a *few Counties only, provided*
 “*always they were not Freeholders*; and allowed them
 “but *ten Days Time* to come in.”

In your Answer to this Instance, you tell us,
 from *Borlase*, (*o*) that “this Proclamation of the
 “Lords Justices is dated the 1st of *November*,
 I “and

(*l*) See Remonstrance from Trim. Append.

(*m*) See Temple, Borlase, &c. of the Irish Rebel.

(*n*) “Their (the lords justices) secreting the copies of the king’s
 “proclamation (for a general pardon) of the 1st of January to such
 “a degree, that the lords and gentlemen of the Pale, who lay nearest
 “Dublin could not see one of them, was the likeliest way to pre-
 “vent their effect.”

Carte’s Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I. p. 296.

(*o*) Answ. p. 143.

“ and that the Order of the Parliament of *England*, which has no Date, could not be passed so early as the 1st of *November* :”---On which Account you infer, that their Lordships cannot be supposed to have known the Contents of that Order, when they published their Proclamation. It is indeed probable, that these Lords Justices were sufficiently hasty to publish that severe Proclamation, some Time before the Order of the *British* Parliament could come to their Hands. But, pray, Sir, ought not they, after the Receipt of such Order, to have withdrawn that, and published another Proclamation *conformable* to it ?-----After these good *Governors*, who, you say, “ applied *Lenitives* instead of *Corrosives*, *Moderation* and *Sweetness* instead of *Passion* and *Rigour*, for reducing a rebellious Nation, “ to Obedience,” had known that they were expressly ordered (p) by both Houses of the *English* Parliament, (to whom the Management of this War was committed by the King) to bestow his Majesty’s gracious Pardon to all such in Rebellion, without Exception of Persons or Places, as should within a convenient Time, return to their Obedience : After knowing all this, I say, ought they still to have continued, and enforced, that Proclamation of theirs, whereby such Offer of general Pardon was limited to the Inhabitants of *four Counties on’y out of the whole Kingdom*, and but to such of these Inhabitants too, *as were not Freeholders*, with an Allowance of no longer Time than *ten Days* to receive Benefit thereby ?

And yet, with such Rigour and Cruelty did these Lords Justices afterwards enforce that Proclamation, that, when the Lord of *Dunsany*, Sir *John Netterville*, *Patrick Barnewell* of *Killbrew*, Esquire,

(p) See that order in Temple’s Hist. Irish Reb. p. 134.

Esquire, and many others, who had Notice of his Majesty's gracious Inclination towards the Nation, and of the Parliament of *England's* Order in their Favour, submitted (notwithstanding the Restriction in that Proclamation) to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, then Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's Army; they were imprisoned, and indicted by a Jury, *which did not consist of Freeholders*: And the said (q) Mr. *Barnewell*, in Particular, of

I 2

the

(q) See Brief Narrative, Castlehaven's Mem.

"Mr. Patrick Barnewell of Kilbrew, was one of the most considerable gentry of the Pale, a venerable old man of sixty-six years of age, delighting in husbandry, a lover of quiet, and highly respected in his country." Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I. fol. 300.—"The rack extorted so little from him, and there was such a total defect of evidence against him, that the severity of his prosecution made his innocence the clearer.—"The principal question put to him was, Whether the king was privy to, or had encouraged the rebellion?—The lords justices, devoted to that party, to whose disposition the government of Ireland was intirely left, endeavoured, in this detestable way, to serve their ends, by the calumniating of his Majesty, at the same time that they served their own Scheme of an Extirpation, by the racking of these gentlemen, whose treatment could not fail of deterring every body from venturing themselves into their power, for the future." Ibid. fol. 301.

"Lord Dunfany, Sir John Netterville, Patrick Barnewell, Esq; were confined in the castle of Dublin, and there suffered great hardships, from the rigour of the lords justices, for twelve or fourteen months; and, being refused to be quitted, were ready to perish in prison, for want of relief." Ibid, 422. "They had all of them lived quietly in their own houses, to which the lords justices, by their proclamation, banishing them from Dublin, had ordered them to repair; and had never been concerned in any hostile act: yet, the justices, to discourage the like Submissions, had prosecuted and treated them with excessive rigour." Ibid.

"I am the more inclined to suspect there was a good deal of Corruption and Iniquity in the methods of gaining these Indictments; because I find a very remarkable Memorandum made by the marquis of Ormonde, in his own Hand Writing, of a passage in the council on April 23d, 1643. There was then a letter read at the board, from a person, who claimed a great Merit to himself in getting some hundreds of gentlemen indicted, and the rather, for that he had laid out Sums of Money, to procure Witnesses, to give Evidence to a Jury for the finding those Indictments. This was an intimate friend of Sir William Parsons;" Ibid. fol. 423.

the Age of Sixty-six, was *put to the Rack*. And all this was done, notwithstanding the said Marquis of Ormonde recommended these Gentlemen to those Lords Justices, intimating that the *good Usage* to be extended to them would have an *Influence* on many others, and would be a great MOTIVE to quiet the Distempers that then began to spread.

Now, good Sir, inform me, could this be done with a View to incline these Rebels to submit to the Government, "and for the better inducing them to *repent* of their wicked Attempts," which is the Reason expressed in the Order for granting that general Pardon?---Or, rather, could it possibly be done with any other View, but that of *preventing Submissions*, and rendering them still more *hardened and desperate* in those wicked Attempts?

These last mentioned Facts, Sir, were, by the Author of the DIALOGUE, taken from a Tract, intitled, *A brief Narrative*, &c. which was published in London, in the Year 1660, but not written by *Peter Walsh*, as you have suggested; though these and other Passages were by him cited from

"Some time before the rebellion broke out, it was confidently reported, that Sir *Antin* Clothworthy, who well knew the designs of the faction that governed the House of Commons in England, had declared there in a speech, that the conversion of the Papists in Ireland, was only to be effected, by the Bible in one hand, and the Sword in the other; and Mr. Pym gave out, that they would not leave a priest in Ireland: to the like effect, Sir William Parsons, out of a strange weakness, or detestable policy, positively asserted before many witnesses, at a public entertainment in Dublin, that, within a twelvemonth, no catholic should be seen in Ireland. He had sense enough to know the consequences which would naturally arise from such a declaration; which, however it might contribute to his own selfish views, he would hardly have ventured to make so openly and without disguise, if it had not been agreeable to the politicks and measures of the English faction, whose party he espoused, and whose Directions were the general Rule of his Conduct."

Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I. fol. 235, 6.

from it, in his Reply to the Earl of Orrery, and addressed to the Duke of Ormonde himself, to whose Knowledge, you see, he thus publicly appeals, for the Truth of Transactions, in which his Grace was personally concerned.

That the Reason, for which these Lords Justices, contrary to the Order of both Houses of the *English* Parliament, excepted Freeholder's from Pardon, in this Proclamation, was, as the Earl of Castlehaven asserts, (r) " (because they " had Estates to lose," will manifestly appear, by considering the cruel Treatment which the Gentlemen, now mentioned, met with, on their Submission to the Earl of Ormonde; the frequent Sayings of these Lords Justices, that " the more " there were in Rebellion, the more Lands would be " forfeited to them; and by reflecting on their " Rapacity, in ordering to be seized, in the Province of *Munster* only, from the Beginning of this Rebellion there, in the Middle of *December*, 1641, to *August* 1642, " (s) so many Estates as " were not of so little yearly Value, at that " Time, as two hundred thousand Pounds;" In mentioning which Seizure, the Earl of *Corke* emphatically writes, " (t) this is the Work of Works!"

The Cause of this Insurrection in *Munster*, and consequently of the Forfeitures above-mentioned, is thus related by (u) Mr. Carte from the Duke of Ormonde's Papers.

I 3

" It

(r) " These lords justices, in a private letter of their own, without the rest of the council) to the speaker of the British House of Commons, May 11, 1642, besought the Commons to assist them with a Grant of some competent Proportion of the Rebels Lands."

Carte's Life of the D. of Ormonde, Vol. I. fol. 296.

(s) Earl of Orrery's State Letters, Vol. I.

(t) Ibid.

(u) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I.

“ It was in the Middle of *December*, 1641, before
 “ any *one* Gentleman in the Province of *Mun-*
 “ *ster* appeared to favour the Rebellion : Many
 “ of them had shewn themselves zealous to op-
 “ pose it, and had tendered their Service for that
 “ End. Lord *Muskery*, who had married a Sis-
 “ ter of the Earl of *Ormonde*, offered to raise
 “ a thousand Men at his own Charge ; and, if
 “ the State could not supply them with Arms,
 “ he was ready to raise Money by a Mortgage
 “ of his Estate to buy them, if, when the Ser-
 “ vice was ended, he might either keep the
 “ Arms, or be re-imburfed what they cost him :
 “ Nor did any Signs of Uneasiness, or Disaffection
 “ appear among the Gentry, till Sir *William St.*
 “ *Leger* came to *Clonmell*, which was on the first
 “ of that Month.---There had been, a few Days
 “ before, some Robberies committed in the Coun-
 “ ty of *Tipperary*, by a Rabble of the common
 “ Sort, and a Parcel of idle young Fellows of the
 “ Baronies of *Eliogurty*, *Killemanna*, *Clanwilliam*, and
 “ *Meddletbyrde*, who, as soon as they had got
 “ their Prey, divided it, and retired to their se-
 “ veral Parishes. Among other *English*, who suf-
 “ fered, a great Number of Cows and Sheep
 “ were taken away, from Mr. *W. Kingsmill* of
 “ *Ballyowen*, Brother-in-law to the Lord President.
 “ Sir *W. St. Leger*, upon Notice thereof, came
 “ in two or three Days after, with two Troops of
 “ Horse in great Fury to *Ballyowen* ; and being
 “ informed the Cattle were driven into *Eliogurty*,
 “ he marched that Way. As he set forth, he kil-
 “ led three Persons at *Ballyowen*, who were said
 “ to have taken up some Mares of Mr. *Kings-*
 “ *mill's*, and not far off at *Grange*, he killed, or
 “ hanged, four innocent Labourers ; at *Bally O*
 “ *Murrin* six, and at *Ballygaburt* eight, and
 “ burned

" burned several Houses. Nor was it without
 " great Importunity, and Intercession, that he
 " spared the Life of Mr. *Morrice M'grath*, (Grand-
 " son of *Milerus*, Archbishop of *Cashel* in Q.
 " *Elizabeth's* Time,) a civil, well-bred, Gentleman,
 " it being plainly proved that he had no Hand
 " in the Prey; notwithstanding which Proof, he
 " still kept that Gentleman in Prison. From
 " thence Captain *Peisley*, marching to *Armaile*, kil-
 " led there seven or eight poor Men and Wo-
 " men, whom he found standing abroad in the
 " Streets, near their own Doors, inoffensively; and
 " passing over the River *Ewyer* early in the Morn-
 " ing, marched to *Clonoulta*; where, meeting *Phi-*
 " *lip Ryan*, the chief Farmer in the Place, a very
 " honest, and able Man, not at all concerned
 " in any of the Robberies, going with his Plough-
 " iron in a peaceable Manner to the Forge, where
 " he used to have it mended, he, without any En-
 " quiry, either gave Order for, or connived at
 " his being killed, as appeared by his cherish-
 " ing the Murderer. From thence he went to
 " *Goollyn-bridge*, where he killed, or hanged seven
 " or eight of Dr. *Gerald Fennell's* Tenants, honest
 " Inhabitants of the Place, and burned several
 " Houses in the Town; the Cattle of the Coun-
 " try-people, which he met in his March, being
 " taken up by him, and sent in great Numbers
 " into the County of *Corke*.

" The Captain went from thence, to meet the
 " Lord President, where several of the chief No-
 " bility and Gentry of the Country, being sur-
 " prized at these rash and cruel Proceedings,
 " waited upon his Lordship with their Complaints,
 " which were *rejected*, and the Captain *applauded*
 " for what he had done. Among these Gentle-
 " men were *James Butler*, Lord Baron of Dun-
 " *boyne*,

“ boyne, Thomas Butler of Killconnell, James But-
 “ ler of Killweylagher, Theobald Butler of Ard-
 “ maile, Richard Butler of Ballynekill, Philip O
 “ Dwyer, and divers others of good Quality.
 “ They observed to the President, how general-
 “ ly the People were exasperated by those incon-
 “ siderate Cruelties, running distractedly from
 “ House to House, and that they were on the
 “ Point of gathering together in great Numbers,
 “ not knowing what they had to trust to, and
 “ what was likely to be their Fate. They told
 “ him that they waited upon his Lordship to be
 “ informed how Affairs stood, and that they co-
 “ veted nothing more than to serve his Majesty,
 “ and preserve the Peace; and desired that he
 “ would be pleased to qualify them for it with
 “ Authority and Arms, in which Case they would
 “ not fail to suppress the Rabble, and secure
 “ the Peace of the Country. The President did not
 “ receive their Representation and Offer, in the
 “ Manner they expected; but in a hasty, furious
 “ Manner, answered them, *That they were all Re-*
 “ *bels, and he would not trust one Soul of them; but*
 “ *thought it more prudent to hang the best of them.*
 “ And in this extraordinary Passion he continued
 “ all the while these and other Persons of Qua-
 “ lity, their Neighbours, were waiting upon him.
 “ This made them all withdraw, and return to
 “ their Houses, much resenting his Rudeness, and
 “ Severity, as well as very uncertain about their
 “ own Safety; some of them imagining that this
 “ distrusting of their Loyalty, and destroying of
 “ their Reputations, was the Preface to a Design
 “ of taking away their Lives. From Clonmell, Sir
 “ William St. Leger, marched into the County of
 “ Waterford; and his Soldiers, in the Way, as
 “ they went and returned from the Rout of the
 “ Wexford

“ *Wexford* Rebels, killed several *harmless* poor People, not at all concerned in the Rebellion, or in the Plunder of the Country, which also incensed the Gentlemen of that County, and made them prepare for standing on their Defence.”

After a great deal of Quibbling, Shuffling Bouncing, and telling a tedious, and impertinent Story of the Lords of the Pale, you come, at last, to attempt Something like an Answer to the *third Instance* of the tyrannical Proceedings of these Lords Justices, “ in breaking the public Faith with such of those *Roman-Catholic* Freeholders, as were then near *Dublin* ;” your own Account of which Matter, as you have found it in Sir *John Temple*, is, in Substance as follows.

(w) “ Upon Information given to some Officers of the Army, that a Robbery had been newly committed by certain Rebels, at *Buskin*, on one *Smith*, and a Murder committed on *Derrick Hubart* of *Skerries*, two Officers, with forty Foot, were detached, with *Directions to fall upon the Rebels* ; who marched directly to *Santry*, and there finding” (not these Rebels, but) “ *some Strangers*, with Weapons lodged in suspicious Places, *they slew four of them*, whom they (x) conceived” (which was *Proof enough*, at that Time,) “ to be criminal Offenders ; of whom one, upon further Enquiry, was found to be a *Protestant*.”
 ---Let me add, (y) that the Heads of these poor Strangers

(w) Answ. p. 147.

(x) “ Hard was the case of the country people at this time,” says Carte, on this occasion, “ when not being able to hinder parties of rebels breaking into their houses and taking refreshments there, this should be deemed a treasonable act, and sufficient to authorize a Massacre.”

Carte’s Life of the D. of Ormonde, fol. 244.

(y) Collect. of Massacres and Murders committed on the Irish, &c. Carte’s Life of the D. of Ormonde, Vol. I.

Strangers were, next Day, brought in Triumph into the City, by these Officers.

Alarmed at this Proceeding, several neighbouring Gentlemen (one of the Principal of whom was Mr *King* of *Glontarf*) quitted their Dwellings, and assembled together at *Swords*; where, upon receiving a peremptory Order of the (z) 9th of *December* 1641 from the Lords Justices, for their Repair to *Dublin* by the next Morning at ten of the Clock, they civilly excused themselves in a Letter to their Lordships, setting forth, " That they were
 " constrained to meet there for the Safety of their
 " Lives; that they were put in so great a Terror
 " by the Rising out of some Horse Troops and Foot-
 " Companies at *Dublin*, who killed four Catholics
 " for no other Reason than that they were such, as
 " they durst not stay in their Houses; and there-
 " fore resolved to continue together, until they
 " were assured by their Lordships of the Safety of
 " (a) their Lives, before they ran the Hazard there-
 " of,

(z) " The lords of the Pale had been banished Dublin, and yet
 " on the 3d day of December following, they (the lords justices)
 " directed their summons to them to repair to the castle on the 8th
 " day of the same month. This summons alarmed several of those
 " noblemen, who, lying most exposed to the enemy, could not hin-
 " der the rebels entrance into their houses, or paying of contribu-
 " tions, which in the eye of the law, was criminal, tho' unavoid-
 " able; besides, the reason assigned for convening them at that
 " time appeared very suspicious, because of the jealousy which the
 " lords justices had always expressed of them."—Hence, " It was
 " easily imagined, that the summons was only an artifice to draw
 " those noblemen to Dublin, and when they were there, to seize on
 " their persons, confine them in an irksome prison, and perhaps
 " prosecute them at law with a severity, which might end in the
 " forfeiture of their estates the ruin of their families, and the
 " taking away of their lives by an ignominious execution."

Carte's Life of the D. of Ormonde, Vol. I. fol. 243, 4.

(a) See *Temple's Hist. of the Irish Reb.*

" Sir Charles Coote immediately after his inhuman Executions,
 " and promiscuous Murders of People in Wicklow, was made Go-
 " vernor of Dublin, at the very Time of sending out the Summons
 " to the Lords (and Gentlemen) of the Pale." *Carte*, ib. fol. 259.

“ of, by manifesting their Obedience *due* to their “ Lordships.”

That these Lords Justices themselves deemed this Slaughter at *Santry* a just Motive, and not, as you term it, “ a Pretext of Fear” in these Gentlemen, is manifest from their issuing a (*b*) Proclamation on the 13th of *December*, wherein they allow them until the 18th of the said Month, to appear before them in *Dublin*: And in Order to induce them to come in then, “ (*c*) they therein “ give them, and every of them, the WORD OF “ THE STATE that they may securely and safely repair thither, without Danger of (*d*) any “ *Trouble* or Stay *whatsoever*.” To what Purpose, therefore, do you ask, “ whether these Gentlemen “ did send any Message to the State, that they “ would comply with these Things? or whether “ they shewed any Disposition to Obedience?” when you knew that on the very next Day, after the Date of this Proclamation, these Lords Justices signed an (*e*) Order to the Earl of *Ormonde*, Lieutenant-General of the Army, to send out a Party
of

(*b*) Borl. Hist. of the Irish Rebel. fol. 60.

(*c*) Id. ibd.

(*d*) “ The words ‘ any Trouble whatsoever’ carry with them an extensive signification; and, if taken in a loose sense, the safeguard may be taken to contain in it an exemption from all molestation whatever, either in Person or Fortunes: — If taken in a strict sense, it provided only for Mr. King’s repair to Dublin; but gave no security for his return: and even in his repair thither, he might be robbed and stripped by the way, provided his person were safe. — Such defects rarely happen, but by design. — Agreeable to this view, at the time of sending this manifest, or pretended safe-conduct, to these gentlemen, they ordered Sir Charles Coote upon the expedition to Clontarfe, where Mr. King suffered such vast damages, by the burning of his house and goods; which was but a sorry Encouragement to him to accept their invitation to Dublin, and gave him just grounds of apprehending, at least, some Danger of Trouble; from which danger the Manifest pretended to secure him, as well as the rest that were assembled at Swords.” Carte, fol. 254.

(*e*) Borl. Hist. of the Irish Rebell. fol. 61.

of Soldiers, Horse and Foot, to fall on the Inhabitants of *Clontarfe*, (a Village belonging to Mr. King, to whom, by Name, among others, the *Word* of the *State* had been given,) to endeavour to cut them off, and to burn and spoil their Houses; “---which Order was accordingly executed on “ the following Day, by a Party under the Command of (f) Sir Charles Coote.”

And this Breach of public Faith was committed, not because it was even pretended that these Gentlemen had either done, or encouraged, any hostile Act, between the 13th and 15th of *December*; but because, truly, some of the Fishermen thereabout had plundered a Barque lying there, and had put some of the Plunder into Mr. King's House, in his Absence! For the Truth of which Fact, however, you can produce no Vouchers, but the very Parties accused of this Breach of public Faith, namely, these Lords Justices themselves, and Sir John Temple, who was then of the Privy Council.

And yet you have the Assurance to ask, (g) “ where “ is the public Faith broken? where was it given, otherwise than to the Persons of the Rebels assembled at *Swords* for their Repair to the “ Government and safe Return?”---But (not to mention that the said Order directly enjoins the cutting off, or massacring, Mr. King's Tenants, and burning their (h) Houses) you are mistaken in thinking

(f) Id. ib. f. 62. “ By this warrant (to burn Clontarfe) the earl of Ormonde was at liberty to send out what party or officers he saw fit; but, by the special Designation of the Lords Justices, Sir Charles Coote was appointed to go on this expedition, being the fittest person to execute their orders, as one who best knew their Minds.” Carte's Life of the D. of Ormonde, Vol. I.

(g) Answ. p. 149.

(h) “ Sir Charles Coote, at this time pillaged and burned houses, corn, and other goods, belonging to Mr. King, to the value of more than 4000l. which, with disarming the roman catholics of

ing that either he or the Gentlemen with him were then deemed Rebels by the Government, at least, if the Government's own Word may be taken on the Matter : For, these Lords Justices, in their Order of the aforesaid 9th of *December*, expressly say, that " they were willing to make an " indulgent Interpretation of their Actions" (assembling at *Swords*,) " in Regard of the *good Opinion they always had of their Loyalty.*" And I challenge you to shew, that these Gentlemen had committed any Act, from the 9th to the 15th of that Month, which could have justly made them *forfeit that good Opinion* of the Government.

Even the pretended (i) Plundering of the Barque by the Fishermen at *Clontarfe*, or thereabouts, in their Absence, (your wretched, and *only* Excuse for this Breach of public Faith) cannot be proved to have happened in that Interval of Time, by any Thing that appears even in your own partial Writers on this Occasion. As for what you have, with your usual Confidence, advanced at large, that " if the Author of the *DIALOGUE* had attended to Sir *John Temple's* Words, he would " have found that the Injury was done to the " Barque, after the public Faith given," it is so far from being true, that the Contrary might

K

easily

" Dublin, the day before the lords of the Pale were to attend there
 " according to the proclamation, gave them such a cause of jealousy,
 " that they did not think it safe for them to observe its contents,
 " but continued to stand upon their guard."

See Carte's *Life of the D. of Ormonde*. Vol. I. fol. 250.

(i) " No account of this affair" (plundering the barque at *Clontarfe*) " takes the least notice of any men on board the bark, or of
 " any ill treatment that they met with ; which, had there been
 " any, would have been unavoidable, and could not have failed of
 " being mentioned by those who relate it : So that it seems to have
 " been a vessel deserted, or wrecked ; in which case, people that
 " live on the sea-coasts, influenced by a common but barbarous notion,
 " are apt to deem and treat goods on board, as lawful plunder."

Carte, fol. 246.

easily be demonstrated, from some Passages in that Writer, and in *Borlase*, were it worth the While to take any further Trouble about it.

And there is no Room to doubt, but that, if Mr. *King* in Person, and the other Gentlemen named in the Proclamation, had been then at *Contarfe*, or thereabout, on their lawful Occasions, they would have been all cut in Pieces by Sir *Charles Coote*, (*k*) as sixteen of the poor Town's People were "though (it is (*l*) confessed) they made no "Opposition;" which Slaughter you in vain deny; Since every Body knows that Sir *Charles Coote*, was (*m*) prompt enough to shed the Blood of all those, whom he but *suspected*, or *conceived*, to be *Irish* Rebels; (and his Orders at that Time were, "to cut them off;") and, since as (*n*) *Borlase* informs us, "*he excellently well quitted the Service that was enjoined him.*"

(*o*) "In the same Week, fifty-six Men, Women and Children, of the Village of *Bulloge*, "being frightened at what was done at *Contarfe*, "took Boats and went to Sea, to shun the Fury "of a Party of Soldiers that were come from *Dublin*, under the Command of Colonel *Crafford*; "but, being pursued by these Soldiers in other "Boats, they were overtaken, and thrown over-board."

(*p*) "You fear there is some Truth" in what is cited in a marginal Note, from the Earl of *Castlehaven*,

(*k*) Collect. of the Massacres and Murders committed on the Irish.

(*l*) Temple's Ir. Reb.

(*m*) Among the many instances of cruelty related of Sir *Charles Coote*, in his expedition to the county of Wicklow, the following is mentioned by Mr. *Carte*.—"When a soldier was carrying about "a poor babe on the end of his pike, he was charged with saying, "that he liked such Frolicks." Id. ib. f. 243.

(*n*) Irish Rebel.

(*o*) Collection of Massacres and Murders committed on the Irish.

(*p*) Answ. p. 152. "Sir John Read was a sworn servant of his Majesty, as gentleman of the privy-chamber, and had been a

haven, that " Sir John Read, one of his Majesty's
 " sworn Servants, preparing to go for *England*,
 " to present a Petition from the *Irish* to the King,
 " was, by these Lords Justices' Order, impris-
 " oned, and afterwards put to the Rack."---And,
 after making a sorry Sort of Apology for this Piece
 of Cruelty (very visibly indeed against your Consci-
 ence) you suddenly relent, and add, " do not
 " mistake me, Sir, as if I set myself up as an Ad-
 " vocate for so *cruel* an Action."---Did not, there-
 fore, the Author of the DIALOGUE justly pro-
 duce this, as one Instance, among *many*, of the
arbitrary and *tyrannical* Proceedings of these Lords
 Justices?---" But, (say you) an Action of this pri-
 " vate Nature cannot, with Reason, be alledged as
 " an Argument of a Desire in the Government
 " to *foment* the Rebellion."---You might have
 made the like witty Defence of that Govern-
 ment, *after* it had authorised ten thousand Acts
 of Violence and Injustice, if each of them hap-
 pened to be an *Action* of a private Nature. But,
 what is it that you can point out in the Racking
 of this Gentleman, that can properly denominate
 it an Action of a *private* Nature? or rather, that
 will not justly entitle it to be deemed an Action
 of a *public* Nature?---The Person racked was one
 of the King's Servants, employed by the *Irish* Ca-
 tholics to present a *Remonstrance* of their Griev-
 ances to his Majesty: He was racked in the Cas-
 tle of *Dublin*, by Order of these Lords Justices;
 and the (q) Motive for racking him was, to ex-

K 2

tort

" lieutenant-colonel in the late army against the Scots.—Upon
 " his desiring a pass to go into England, he was invited to Dublin,
 " by the Lords Justices, who desired to confer with him, before he
 " went:—Upon his arrival at Dublin, he was committed a close
 " prisoner to the castle, notwithstanding that they invited and or-
 " dered him to come thither." Carte, fol. 95, 6.

(q) See Castlehaven's Mem.—" The king had caused Sir Ed-
 " ward Nicholas to write or copies of Read's examinations on the

tort a Confession from him, *how far the King and Queen were concerned in this Rebellion*. Thus did they, from the Beginning, make use of Torture, to force those People to criminate his Majesty, as they did, afterwards, of Offers of (r) Life, Estate, and Honours to the condemned Rebels, for the same vile, and traitorous Purpose ; which Offers, however, some of the most obnoxious, and hated of these Rebels generously rejected, at the very Moment of their Execution. And are these Matters of a *private* Nature, Mr. Harris !---But I have dwelt too long on these frivolous Evasions.

His next *Instance* is somewhat more general : It is, that “ these Lords Justices, scornfully and insultingly, rejected the proffered Submission of “ the (s) Lords of the Pale, on the 21st of *March*, “ 1641.”---Of this Submission you ludicrously say that,

“ rack, to the lords justices ; but they, conscious of their own iniquity in that affair, and being determined to make their future application to the parliament of England, and to carry on a correspondence with the prevailing party in that body, rather than with the king, forbore to send his Majesty any account of that business, tho’ they had sent copies thereof to their friends in the parliament. The king thereupon commanded the secretary to write to the earl of Ormonde, and desire his lordship to send him a copy of the said examinations ; but this was more than his lordship could do : So carefully was this matter secreted from him, though a member of the council. And it was between two or three years afterwards, that Sir John Read, after a close imprisonment of some time at London, there being no evidence of any crime against him, got his liberty ; and after serving some time in the parliament army, repaired to the king at Oxford, and informed him of the particulars of these transactions.”

Carte’s Life of the D. of Ormonde, vol. 1. fol. 297.

(r) Sir Phelim O’Neil, Lord M’Guire. See Appendix.

(s) These lords addressed themselves to the earl of Castlehaven, in the following letter.

Right honourable, and our very good lord.

“ Understanding of a proclamation (which we could never come to the sight of) set forth by his Majesty, commanding us to lay down our arms ; in obedience thereto, we performed accordingly ; and thereupon employed lieutenant-colonel Read unto the lords justices, that a cessation of arms might be of all sides, until we were informed upon what grounds and conditions we might be

that, (t) “ after these Lords of the Pale had done
 “ all the Mischief they could, and that they found
 “ the *Game was lost*, they grew *penitent* on a sud-
 “ den, like offending School-boys, for Fear of the
 “ Rod.”---And that, “ it is not, therefore, to be
 “ wondered at, that the Lords Justices should
 “ *scornfully* and *insultingly* reject their Applica-
 “ tions.” And do you, then, affirm, Sir, that these
 Lords of the Pale had *lost their Game*, and done
all the Mischief they could on the (u) 21st of
 March 1641? Did they do no Mischief *after-*
wards? If these Lords Justices had not been
 desirous of *fomenting* the Rebellion, would they
 not have endeavoured, by accepting this Submissi-
 on, to prevent the great and lamentable Evils
 that ensued on both Sides, instead of *purposely* irri-
 tating these Noblemen, by scornfully rejecting it,
 and

K 3

“ received. Since which the army came from Dublin, pillaged,
 “ and burned both our own houses and our tenants, not having once
 “ received answer. Wherefore, our humble request unto your lord-
 “ ship is, (so it be without inconvenience to your person) that you
 “ will be pleased to move unto the state, in behalf of us the united
 “ lords, to be licensed to meet by a certain time in some convenient
 “ place, where we may draw up our grievances to be presented to
 “ his Majesty, and in the mean time a cessation of arms to be con-
 “ tinued, and no hostile act perpetrated; which by these presents
 “ we fully authorize your lordship to do, and do undertake that the
 “ united lords will approve the same; for which favour you will
 “ oblige us to be,” &c.

See Carte's Life of the D. of Ormonde, vol. 1. fol. 297.

(t) Answ. p. 154. “ The orders given to the earl of Ormonde,
 “ (in an expedition against Hugh Byrne) by the lords justices, on
 “ Feb. 23, 1641, were, not only to kill and destroy the rebels,
 “ their adherents, and relievers, and to burn, waste, consume, and
 “ demolish all the places, towns and houses, where they had been
 “ relieved and harboured, (though the poor Owners could not refuse
 “ them) and all the corn and hay there; but also to kill and destroy
 “ all the Men there inhabiting, able to bear Arms.”

Carte, ib. fol. 283.

(u) About this time “ the distresses of the protestants in Ireland,
 “ were grown extreme, and the forces of the enemy much increased
 “ by the supply they received from abroad.”

Carte's Life of the D. of Ormonde, vol. 1. fol. 392.

and unjustly branding them with the Name of *Traytors* and *Rebels*? Ought not all the Blood that was afterwards shed, and all the subsequent Robberies and Burnings, in the Course of this Rebellion, to be placed to the Account of these Lords Justices?

“All this while,” says the Earl (*w*) of *Castlehaven*, “Parties were sent out by the Lords Justices and Council, from *Dublin*, and most Garrisons throughout the Kingdom, to kill and destroy the Rebels; but the Officers and Soldiers took little Care to distinguish between *Rebels* and *Subjects*, but killed in many Places, promiscuously, Men, Women and Children.”---In your Answer to this Passage, you own, that (*x*) “you have very little to say;” but you add, “Lord *Castlehaven*, or the Author of the DIALOGUE, ought to have distinguished the Times, when these Murders were committed; which manifestly, if ever, (say you) was after the 10th of June, 1642, when the Protections were revoked.”---But, it is evident from Lord *Castlehaven*, and you knew it full well, that these Murders were committed by the *English* Officers and Soldiers, much earlier than the Time you mention: And, lest that Truth should appear to your Readers, in citing that Passage of his Lordship from the DIALOGUE, you have artfully suppressed those Words in the Beginning of it, which plainly indicate that they were: For, after his Lordship had touched upon some Matters that had happened in the Beginning of the Rebellion, (the last of which was the rejected Submission of the Lords of the Pale, before-mentioned) he immediately subjoins these Words “ALL THIS WHILE, Parties were sent, &c.”---By which

(*w*) Mem. p. 35.

(*x*) Answ. p. 256.

which it evidently appears that, during the whole Time of these Transactions, (the *latest* of which was on the 21st of *March*, 1641,) these Officers and Soldiers were, by the Lords Justices' Orders, killing the innocent and guilty *Irish*, promiscuously, without shewing any Regard to Age, Sex or Condition.

Yet, (y) earlier still than the 21st of *March*, 1641, were such Orders issued by the Lords Justices and Council, as seem to have occasioned those shocking Acts of Barbarity, which are but barely hinted at by Lord *Castlehaven*. *Clarendon* has already informed you, that their Lordships had, early in this Rebellion, "forbidden any Quarter to be given to, and taken all Ways to incense the SOLDIERS against, the *Irish* Nation;" by which were understood the Catholics of it only. And accordingly, Doctor (z) *Nelson*, a *Protestant* Divine, and Historian, assures us, that, "the Severities of the Provost-Marshal, and the Barbarism of the SOLDIERS to the *Irish*, were such, that he heard a Relation of his own, who was a Captain in that Service, relate, That *no Manner of Compassion, or Discrimination*, was shewed either to *Age* or *Sex*, but that the *little Children* were promiscuously Sufferers with the Guilty; and that, if any, who had some Grains of Compassion, reprehended the Soldiers for this *unchristian Inhumanity*, they would scornfully reply, *Why! Nits will be Lice*, and so would dispatch them."

The ORDERS, (a) before-mentioned, of these Lords Justices and Council, which are dated the 3d and 9th of *March*, 1641, and directed to the Earl of *Ormonde*, Lieutenant-General of the Army,

(y) See Appendix.

(z) Hist. Collect.

(a) Nelson's Hist. Collect. See Notes and Append.

my, *import*, That his Lordship, (who then commanded three thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse) “ should march in such Places, between
 “ the *Boyne* and the Sea, as his Lordship should
 “ think fit; and *burn, spoil and destroy the Rebels*
 “ *of the Pale, without excepting of any.* That those,
 “ *who should offer to come in,* should be in no other
 “ Manner taken in, than as PRISONERS taken by
 “ the Power and Strength of his Majesty’s Army.
 “ That, if any of them came to the Army, it
 “ should be the SOLDIERS, *that seized on them, before*
 “ *they had Access to his Lordship: And that they*
 “ *should be denied Access to his Person.* That no
 “ Difference should be made between the Noble-
 “ men that were Rebels, and other Rebels; but
 “ that their Houses and Goods should be dealt
 “ with, as those of other Rebels.”---And to make
 the tragic Effects of these Orders still more extensive, they added in a Postscript, “ When your
 “ Lordship shall have perused and signed the Inclosed, we pray you to cause it to be sent to Sir
 “ *Henry Titchbourne.*”

Thus you see, Sir, that even such of these deluded *Irish* as were willing to return to their Duty, and submitted to the Government, were by these cruel Orders, sacrificed to the Fury of Soldiers void of all Compassion and Humanity, and who sought every Opportunity to *extirpate their whole Race.* “ Which Procedure,” continues the Earl of (b) *Castlehaven*, “ not only exasperated the
 “ Rebels, and induced them to commit the like
 “ Cruelties on the *English*; but frightened the Nobility and Gentry round about, who, seeing the
 “ harmless Country-people, without Respect to
 “ Age or Sex, thus barbarously murdered, and
 “ themselves openly threatened, as Favourers of
 “ the

(b) *Ibid.*

“ the Rebellion, for paying the Contribution *they*
 “ *could not refuse*, resolved to stand upon their
 “ Guard.”

You are sensible, Sir, that the last of these Orders has furnished me with a *further Proof* of a *Desire* in these Lords Justices and Council to *protract* this Rebellion, by expressly (c) forbidding the Earl of *Ormonde*, with his gallant and victorious Army, to pursue these Rebels over the *Boyne*, scattered and dismayed as they then were : Which Pursuit, if it had been permitted, would, in all Probability, have put a *speedy* End to this Insurrection. But, I wave this Advantage for the present, and shall only shew you, by one undeniable Instance, how much the Barbarity of these Soldiers, and of these Lords Justices themselves, tended to *foment* and *increase* this Rebellion.

“(d) At this Time,” during *Parsons's* and *Borlase's* Government, “ the Marquis of *Ormonde*, “ having Intelligence that a Party of the Rebels “ intended to be at such a Time at the *Naas*, he “ drew some Troops with Hopes of surprizing “ them ; and, marching all Night, came early in “ the Morning into the Town, from which the “ Rebels, upon Notice, were newly fled. In the
 “ Town

(c) So early as “ on the 17th of November, 1641, the Earl of “ *Ormonde* had arrived in Dublin, and made a proposition to pursue “ the Enemy forthwith, and pursue the service, if he might have “ arms, and power to take meat and drink in his march ; which did “ not then take, though the rebels grew daily stronger.” *Clanric. Mem. fol. 17.* Every one, who considers the weakness of the rebels at that time, “ will be amazed at the lords justices denying their “ consent to the earl of *Ormonde's* proposal. What were their “ real motives for this denial is hard to say ; but the only reason “ assigned by them for it, was the want of arms for the service of “ the soldiers, that were to take the field, as well as of those that “ were to remain in Dublin ; a Pretence so notoriously false, that “ it could only be made use of to cover motives which they were “ ashamed of confessing.” *Carte's Life of the D. of Ormonde, Vol. I. fol. 194, 5.*

{d) *Clarend. Hist. of Irish Reb. Borl. Hist. Irish Reb. fol. 323.*

“ Town some of the Soldiers found Mr. *Higgins*,
 “ who might, 'tis true, have as easily fled, if he
 “ had apprehended any Danger in the Stay. When
 “ he was brought before the Marquis, he volun-
 “ tarily acknowledged that he was a *Papist*, and
 “ that his Residence was in the Town, from
 “ whence he refused to fly away with those that
 “ were guilty ; because he not only knew himself
 “ very innocent, but believed that he could not be
 “ without ample Evidence of it, having by his
 “ sole *Charity* and *Power* preserved *very many of*
 “ *the English Protestants* from the Rage and Fury
 “ of the *Irish* : And therefore he only besought
 “ the Marquis to preserve him from the *Violence*
 “ of the *Soldiers*, and put him securely into *Dublin*,
 “ to be tried for any Crime : Which the Marquis
 “ promised to do, and performed it, though with
 “ so much *Hazard*, that when it was spread abroad
 “ among the Soldiers, that he was a *Papist*, the
 “ *Officer*, into whose Custody he was entrusted,
 “ was assaulted by them ; and it was as much as
 “ the Marquis *could do to relieve him*, and *compose*
 “ *the Mutiny*. When he came to *Dublin*, he in-
 “ formed the Lords Justices of the Prisoner he
 “ had brought with him ; of the good Testimony
 “ he had received of his peaceable Carriage : and
 “ of the *Pains* he had taken to restrain those, with
 “ whom he had Credit, from entering into Re-
 “ bellion ; and of many *charitable Offices* he had
 “ performed, of which there wanted not *Evidence*
 “ *enough*, there being many then in *Dublin*, who
 “ owed their Lives, and whatever of their For-
 “ tunes was left, *purely to him* : So that he doubted
 “ not he would be worthy of Protection. Within
 “ a few Days after, when the Marquis did not
 “ suspect the poor Man's being in Danger, he
 “ heard that Sir *Charles Coote*, who was Provost-
 “ Marshal-

“ Marshal-General, had taken him out of Prison,
 “ and caused him to be put to Death, in the Morn-
 “ ing, *before, or as soon as it was light*: Of which
 “ Barbarity the Marquis complained to the Lords
 “ Justices; *but was so far from bringing the other*
 “ *to be questioned*, that he found himself to be upon
 “ some *Disadvantage*, for thinking the Proceeding
 “ to be *other than it ought to have been*.”

Dr. *Borlase*, in Order to excuse this barbarous
 Act of Sir *Charles Coote*, alledges, that, “ (e) if he
 “ had not done it, his Provost-Marshal’s Com-
 “ mission would have been *violated*, and that he
 “ might have been brought to answer his CON-
 “ TEMPT, at a Council of WAR.”---An evident
 Proof, surely, both that Provost-M Marshals were
 then authorized and bound to commit such Acts of
 Barbarity on the innocent and guilty *Irish* promiscu-
 ouly; and that a contrary Behaviour towards
 the *former*, just and merciful as it was, would
 have been punished as an heinous Offence !

And now, pray, tell me, does not this fairly *demonstrate*, that their Lordships did *purposely* exasperate, not only the Rebels, but also the *innocent Irish*, and thereby make this Rebellion more bloody and general than, certainly, it would have otherwise been ? Does not Cruelty *beget* Cruelty ? And is it
 at

(e) Hist. of the Irish Rebell. f. 324. “ It was certainly a miserable spectacle,” (as lord Castlehaven observes in his manuscript Vindication of his Memoirs, p. 12.) to see every day numbers of people executed by martial Law, at the discretion, or rather caprice, of Sir Charles Coote, an hot-headed and bloody Man, and as such accounted even by the English and Protestants. Yet this was the man, whom the lords justices picked out to entrust with a commission of martial law, to put to death rebels or traitors, i. e. all such as he should deem to be so ; which he performed with Delight, and a wanton kind of cruelty. And yet, all this while the justices frequently sate in council, and the judges in their usual seasons sate in their respective courts, spectators of, and countenancing, so extravagant a tribunal as Sir Charles Coote’s, and so illegal an execution of justice,” Carte, fol. 279, 280.

at all to be wondered at, if these *Irish*, in *their Turns*, have sometimes refused Quarter to Enemies that were always inexorable, and often repaid their most charitable Services with such unheard-of Ferocity?

That the principal Persons, then in Authority in *Ireland*, did oppose the Cessation of Arms, which was earnestly (*f*) sought for by these Rebels; and that these Persons (*g*) “were displeased that “even a *Wish* or *Consent* should be discovered in “any Man, that the War, from which so many “promised Revenge and *Fortunes* should be any “other Way ended, than with the *Blood* and *Confiscation* of all, whom they could *propose* to be “guilty of the Defection;” is so manifest, even from the Accounts of your own *partial* Historians, that it is a Proof of the greatest Dishonesty or Ignorance to go about to dispute it. (*b*) Did not these

(*f*) “The lords of the Pale, having received no answer from “the lords justices, to their proposal for a cessation, sent by Col. “Read, on March 9th, 1641-2, they renewed that proposal by the “Earl of Castlehaven, on the 23d of the same month. About the “same time Sir Lucas Dillon, Hugh Oge O’Connor, and other “gentlemen of the county of Roscommon, proposed a like cessation “to the Earl of Canricarde, and the president of Conaught. In “the following month, the lords of the Pale repeated the same “proposition, and lord Clanricarde had, at the Request of the Rebels in general, on May 19, recommended to the state the agreeing to a general Cessation until his majesty’s pleasure were further “declared upon their humble supplications, &c. but the justices, “entertaining different sentiments, and resolving upon a severe “punishment of all, without Distinction, absolutely rejected the “cessation.”

Carte’s Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. fol. 390.

(*g*) Clarend. Hist. of the Ir. Rebel. Bor. Hist. of the Ir. Rebel.

(*b*) Clarend. Borl, &c. “March 16th, 1642, the lords justices “and council (of Ireland) wrote to the king to prevent a cessation “of arms, or peace with the Irish.”

Sir James Ware, Antiq. fol. 180.

— “My grounds,” (for moving for a cessation) “were,” says the Earl of Clanricarde, “that fire and sword having then made “a sharp Discovery of his majesty’s high indignation, there being “in my Observation several sorts of offenders; some part of his

these Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland* carry on this War, under the *Direction* and *Authority* of the *British* Parliament, whose Orders of greatest Severity they always most chearfully obeyed? And do not you know, Sir, That (i) that Parliament was so averse to this Cessation, that, on the 30th of *September*, 1643, (not having heard that it was before concluded) they made a solemn Declaration against it, and persisted resolutely to have his Majesty disclaim it, after they knew it was concluded? (k) Was not Sir *William Parsons*, one of these Lords Justices, and indeed the only (l) acting one, "re-
 " moved from the Government, because he was a
 " principal Opposer of it, most addicted to the
 " *English* Rebels, and most pliable to their Ends?" Was not (m) he, I say, together with Sir *Robert Meredith*, Sir *John Temple* and Sir *Adam Loftus*,
 L for

" mercy might appear by a Distinction of Punishment, which then
 " and since hath fallen equally, not only on capital offenders, and
 " others less criminal, but even upon deserving Servitors.—These,
 " my lord, were the apprehensions that drew me into that error,
 " which I must now conceive it to be, since it stands in opposition
 " to so able a judgment" (as his lordship's); " but, certainly, some
 " other way of Moderation upon particulars may be agreeable to his
 " majesty's greatness, the destruction and murders committed by the
 " (English) Soldiers thereby prevented, now acted upon those that
 " are protected by your Lordships above, and known to be well de-
 " serving, which in present puts most Men into high Desperation."

Earl of Clanricarde's Letter to Lord Justice Parsons, June 28th 1642, fol. 178.

(i) Borl. Hist. of the Irish Reb. fol. 169.

(k) Clarendon's Hist. of the Irish Rebel.

(l) " Sir John Borlase had the happiness of being thought an in-
 " significant man, and one that blindly followed the directions of
 " his colleague," (Sir William Parsons).

Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I. fol. 420.

Owen O'Neile " observed the cessation so religiously, that, when
 " some of the garrison of Enniskilling made him an offer of be-
 " traying the place, he would not embrace it; though great preys
 " had been taken from the Irish, in the excursions made by that
 " garrison, in their distress, for want of provisions, Ib. fol. 495.

(m) Ware, fol. 180.

for that Opposition, committed to the Castle of *Dublin* by his Majesty's Orders ?

But, I find it was his Majesty's Views and Motives in concluding this Cessation with the *Irish*, which are mentioned in the DIALOGUE, namely, his Confidence in their Loyalty, and his Expectation of their *particular* Assistance against both his *Scotch* and *English* Rebels, that have so sorely galled you : But I will now give you undeniable Proof that such, in Truth, were his Majesty's Motives in that Transaction. His Confidence in their Loyalty manifestly appears, from his Letter to the Lords Justices, of the 2d of *July*, 1643, concerning this Cessation ; wherein he desires their Lordships (n) " to assure those *Irish*, who had taken Arms against him, that he was graciously pleased to dissolve the present Parliament, and to call a new one, between that and the 10th of *November* ensuing ; and to take a Course to put all those (among them) that should be chosen Members of said Parliament, into such a Condition, as they should not be prejudiced in their Liberty of assisting, sitting and voting in that Parliament : " Two Points, which the *Irish* then in Arms, principally insisted upon ; and which certainly his Majesty never would have granted, had he thought them in the least disaffected to his Person or Government !

That his Majesty, in concluding this Cessation with the *Irish*, expected their particular Assistance against both his *Scotch* and *English* Rebels, is evident from his Speech to the *Irish* Commissioners, soon after it was concluded : Wherein he tells them, that " (o) they saw his Subjects of *Scotland*, contrary to all Obligations, had invaded *England*,

(n) Borl. Hist. of the Irish Rebellion, fol. 169.

(o) Borl. Hist of the Irish Reb.

“ land, and joined with the *English* Rebels against
 “ him; who, without that Assistance, would have
 “ been speedily reduced to their Obedience: And
 “ therefore, if his (p) *Catholic Subjects of Ireland*
 “ made Haste, upon such Conditions as he might
 L 2 “ then

(p) A copy of the authority which the Irish commissioners received from the supreme council of the confederate catholics for concluding the Cessation; and which they presented to the marquis of Ormonde, in his tent near Castlemartin in the county of Kildare, on the 23d of June 1643, in the presence of diverse colonels, captains, and officers in his majesty's army. Borl. Hist. of the Irish Reb. fol. 165.

“ Whereas his majesty's faithful subjects, the confederate catholics of Ireland, were enforced to take arms for the preservation of their religion, for the defence of his majesty's just prerogatives and rights, and the rights and liberties of their country, laboured to be destroyed by the malignant party. And whereas his majesty, in his high wisdom and princely care of his said subjects welfare and safety, and at their humble Suit that his majesty might be pleased to hear their Grievances, and vouchsafe Redress therein; did direct there should be a cessation of arms, and thereupon did authorise the right hon. the marquis of Ormonde, to treat and conclude the said cessation with the said confederate catholics. KNOW YE, that the said council, by the express order and authority of the said catholics, by them conceived and granted in their general assembly at Kilkenny, on the 20th day of the last month of May, and in pursuance of the said order and authority, reposing special trust and confidence in the wisdom, circumspection, and provident care, honour and sincerity of our very good lords, Nicholas lord viscount Gormanston, Donough lord viscount Muskerry, and our well-beloved Sir Lucas Dillon, Knt. Sir Robert Talbot, Bart. Tirlogh O'Neal, Esq; Geoffrey Brown, Esq; Ever M'Gennis, Esq; and John Walsh, Esq; have constituted, appointed, and ordained, and by these presents do constitute and appoint the said Nicholas lord viscount Gormanston, &c. our commissioners; and do by these presents give and grant unto our said commissioners, or any five or more of them, full power and authority to treat with the said lord marquis of Ormonde, for a cessation of arms, for one whole year, or shorter, &c. by these presents ratifying and confirming whatever act, or acts, our said commissioners, as aforesaid, shall do, or execute, concerning the said cessation.

“ Given at Kilkenny, this 20th of June, 1643.

“ Mountgarret, Castlehaven, Audley, Malach, Arch.
 “ Tuamens. Fr. Th. Fleming, Arch. Dublin, P imate
 “ of Ireland, Mauric. de Rupe and Fermoy, Netter-
 “ ville, Njc. Plunket, Edm. Fitzmaurice, Pat. Darcy,
 “ Rob. Lynch, R. Bealing.”

“ then grant without Prejudice to himself, and
 “ which should be amply sufficient for the Security
 “ of their Fortunes, Lives, and Exercise of their
 “ Religion, *to assist him, whereby he might be enabled,*
 “ *by God's Blessing, to suppress that Rebellion;* they
 “ might confidently believe he would never forget
 “ to *whose Merit he owed his Preservation and Re-*
 “ *stitution:* And it would then be in his absolute
 “ Power to *vouchsafe Graces to them,* to complete
 “ their Happiness; and which he gave them his
 “ Royal Word he would then dispense in such a
 “ Manner as should not leave them disappointed
 “ in any of their just and full Expectations.”

Accordingly, Sir, fifteen hundred, or, as (q) Sir
James Ware has it, two thousand five hundred, of
 these *Irish* were sent into *Scotland*, by the Marquis
 of *Antrim*, under the Command of Colonel *Mc. Do-*
nald; where joining the small Army of the loyal
 Earl of *Montrose*, they totally defeated, at *Tipper-*
muir, treble their Number of *covenanted* Rebels;
 and, by other signal Victories, soon after reduced a
 great Part of that revolted Nation. And so greatly
 did the Rebel Parliament of *England* then fear, That
 the furnishing of new Supplies of the brave and
 loyal *Irish*, might have entirely marred their
 Designs against his Majesty, that, in Order ef-
 fectually to hinder others of them from coming
 over to his Assistance, they published an Ordi-
 nance, (r) whereby they “ *forbade any Quarter to*
 “ *be given to any Irishman, or any Papist born in Ire-*
 “ *land, that was taken in Hostility against the*
 “ *Parliament, by Sea or Land.*”

You affect not to believe what follows in
 the DIALOGUE, viz. that “ the King endea-
 “ voured to escape from *England* to *Ireland*, in
 Order

(q) Antiq. fol. 181.

(r) Bord. Hist. of the Irish Reb. fol. 178.

Order to put himself into the Hands of the *Irish* "Roman Catholics; because he saw that *all the Rest despised him*." And you decently add, that "(s) if the Author of the DIALOGUE cannot "point out such a Passage in King *Charles's Works*," (which happen to be referred to in a marginal Note) "he must confess himself an *Imposter*."

Now, Sir, in Return for your *Compliment*, I shall only desire you to look into a Book, which had then (t) lately come out in *London*, written by a zealous and sensible *Protestant*, and entituled, *An Inquiry into the Share which King CHARLES I. had in the Earl of Glanmorgan's Transactions in Ireland*; wherein you will find a Letter from his Majesty to the said Earl containing these Words. --- "Tell the *Nuncio* "that if once I can come into *his* or *your* Hands, "which ought to be extremely wished for by "you both, as well for the Sake of *England*, as "Ireland, since, ALL THE REST, AS I SEE, DESPISE "ME; I WILL DO IT."----The Author of that *Inquiry* a little after adds, --- "What was the "Progress of this Correspondence, between the "King and the Earl, does not appear; but it is "certain he was so strictly guarded, that he never "found an Opportunity of escaping to *Ireland*, "to his Lordship and the *Nuncio*."

But now, as if the intire Credit of your Cause were at Stake, you have summoned up your whole Force, and seem disposed to venture All at one Blow! And wherefore?--Because, truly, the Author of the DIALOGUE has sincerely declared, that "neither he, nor any unbigotted Roman-Catholic "ever pretended to justify the Cruelties that were "perpetrated on the *English*, by some of the "Rabble of the *Irish* in this Rebellion: That the

L 3

"Irish

(s) Answ. p. 161.

(t) Printed for A. Millar, 1747.

“ *Irish* did not *begin* that Tragedy: That the Cruelties *really* committed by them, were done, not only *without*, but absolutely *against*, the Consent, and Command of their Chiefs: Whereas those committed by the *English* on them, were expressly ordered by Persons, who had a Right to command them, and by the Lords Justices themselves.”

All this, I think, hath been already sufficiently demonstrated, both by the Author of the *DIALOGUE*, and by your humble Servant: But that, it seems, will not serve your Turn:--- You are grown desperate and declare, that “ (u) if you do not give a convincing Answer to all the Author of the *DIALOGUE* shall or can alledge, you will be content to *submit* and *give up the Cause*.” Let us now try the utmost Force of this your *convincing Answer*.

You have begun it, by poorly cavilling at the Words *unbiggotted Roman Catholics*, with a “ (w) Perhaps to look for *such*, would be to hunt after a black Swan :” But herein, all *unbiggotted Protestants* will easily discern your Ignorance, or Dishonesty, to whom therefore I leave it. In the next Place, for Proof that Murders were committed on the *English* by the *Chiefs*, as well as *Rabble*, of the *Irish*, you refer to Page 123d of your *Answer*: Wherein, nevertheless, there is not a Syllable of the Name, Rank, or Quality of any particular Rebel mentioned; nor any Thing else but two general Quotations from your never-failing Witness, *Temple*: In the first of which, all that he says is, that, “ the *Irish* Rebels *plundered* and *stripped* the *English*, and that none were suffered to give them any Kind of Shelter by the Way, Relief or
Enter-

(u) *Answ.* p. 162.

(w) *Ib.* 163.

“Entertainment, without incurring the heavy *Dis-*
 “*pleasure* of their (*) Priests, and chief Comman-
 “ders.” At the worst, you have produced no bet-
 ter Authority than *Temple’s Word*, in Support of
 the Charge : But, pray, Sir, after all, what is it
 to your Purpose, even supposing it to be true ?
 Are Plundering, and Stripping, *Murder* ? They
 are great Cruelties, indeed ; and Death may, in
 Time, be the Consequence of them ; but surely,
 they are not the Cruelties *now in Question* : And
 I defy you to shew, from any impartial History
 of this Rebellion, that even these Cruelties were,
in the general, either commanded, or approved,
 by

(*) “I think it a great and pedantical kind of injustice,” says
 Sir Peter Pett, “to charge all Lay-papists with a readiness to obey
 “their priests commands, by being ministerial in Cruelty to Pro-
 “testants. I remember I have read it in a printed speech of Sir
 “Audley Mervin, the speaker of the House of Commons in Ire-
 “land, (a speech glowing with anger enough against the Papists)
 “where it is said, in page 24, “In the barony of Enishoan there
 “are above two thousand Irish Papists can bring Hundreds of Pro-
 “testants to witness their civil demeanour through the whole course
 “of the distemper in this kingdom.” (the rebellion of Forty-one)
 Happy future State of England, fol. 205.

“It appears from doctor Maxwell’s examination (who for his sig-
 “nal services against the rebels was afterwards made bishop of Kil-
 “more) that captain Alexander Hovenden, half brother to Sir Phe-
 “lim O’Neal, among other kindness done to the English, conducted
 “five and thirty of them out of Armagh to Drogheda, whereof
 “some were of good quality, &c. twenty more he sent safe to New-
 “ry, and would trust no other convoy than himself, &c. At the de-
 “ponent’s request, he saved Armagh twice from burning, and would
 “have saved it the third time ; but that he lay sick of a fever, &c.
 “He was desirous to submit himself to the King’s Mercy, upon the
 “lord Montgomery’s protection, offering to root out the bloody sept
 “of the Hughes, with his own Followers and Arms, out of Ireland ;
 “but the Motion was rejected : perhaps worse will be admitted. He
 “never had his hand in blood out of battle. That this deponent
 “knoweth he is not yet, which may plead some favour, full two
 “and twenty years of age, and doth not pretend to one Foot of In-
 “heritance.” Deposed August 22d, 1642. See Borl. History of
 “the Irish Rebellion. Appendix.

by the (y) *Irish* Chiefs. As for their Priests, I will presently shew you that they *absolutely forbid* them, under the severest Penalties that they could inflict, in their general Congregation at *Kilkenny*, in the Year, 1642.

In your second Quotation from *Temple*, Nothing at all appears, but an Insinuation, that “every Day after the 24th of *October*, 1641, the sad Relations of Burning, Spoiling and horrible Murders, began to MULTIPLY in *Dublin*.” But there is not even a Hint, that enables us to guess, by whom, or *what Sort* of Rebels, these Murders were committed. By the Way, Sir, I must remind you, that *Temple*, in this last Passage, hath fairly given the Lye to the Lords Justices and Council, and, I will add, to *himself too*: For they, in their (z) Letter of the 25th of *October*, 1641, which is subscribed by *Temple*, plainly intimated, that they had then heard of no Murders committed by the Rebels; so far was the Rumour of horrible Murders from beginning to multiply in *Dublin*, every Day after the 24th.

You then ask, “were *Rory Mc. Gwire*, Sir *Con Magenis*, Colonel *Bryan O’Neile*, Sir (a) *Phelim O’Neile*,

(y) “The first thing that the new general, *Gwen O’Neile*, did, was to express his abhorrence of the cruelties that had been committed upon the English, and to send the few prisoners that were left of them, safe to *Dundalk*: he told Sir *Phelim O’Neal*, that he deserved to be treated in the same cruel manner. In detestation of their actions, he burned some of the murderers houses at *Kennard*; and said, with a warmth unusual to him, that he would join, with the English, rather than not burn the rest.”

Carte’s Life of the Duke of Ormonde, fol. 349.

(z) See *Temple’s History of the Irish Rebellion*.

(a) “Sir *Phelim O’Neile* of *Kinard* in the county of *Tyrone* had a very good estate in that and the adjoining county of *Armagh*, and was the most considerable person of his name in *Ireland*. His grandfather, Sir *Henry O’Neile*, had deserved well of the crown, &c. and was slain in the king’s service on June the 20th, 1608, in an action against Sir *Cahir O’Dogharty*, who had raised a rebellion in *Ulster*, &c, Sir *Phelim* was a person of very mean

"O Neile, to be deemed Rabble?" After which you boldly affirm, that, (b) "all these, and many others in Authority and Command, either committed inhuman Massacres themselves, or directed and authorized others to commit them." But, what Proof have you produced of this? a mighty and irrefragable one truly! the already refuted Authority of *thirty-two* large Volumes of original manuscript Depositions, now to be seen in the College Library. But, Sir, you ought to *know*, and, knowing, you ought to *grant*, that *thirty thousand* Volumes of such Depositions are of no Manner of Use at this Time of Day, to the Elucidation of Truth, though they might have been of some in the Suppression of it, when its Appearance could not be favourable to the then prevailing Interest of a Party. But, the last Obstacle, we thank God, is now removed from the Breast of the Wise: And what View you may have in labouring to reinstate it, is submitted to that Conscience, of which you must soon return a strict Account before the most righteous of Tribunals. An honest View, I am sure, it cannot be:

"natural parts, and improved them very little in his English education, whilst he was a student at Lincoln's Inn; during which time he had professed himself a Protestant, but changed after, if not before his return to Ireland; and then entering upon his estate, before he had discretion enough to manage it, or to conduct himself, ran into all the follies and extravagancies of youth; and having thereby contracted an heavy debt, and mortgaged in a manner all his estate, was the more liable to receive those impressions, and engage in those measures, which the other conspirators suggested to him." Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I. fol. 158.

"The lord president of Munster (St. Leger) is so cruel, and merciless, that he caused honest men and women to be most execrably executed; and amongst the rest, caused a woman great with child to be ript up, and three babes to be taken out of her womb, and then thrust every of the babe with weapons thro' their little bodies.—This act of the lord president's hath put many in a sort of desperation." Lord of Upper Ossory's Letter to the Earl of Ormonde. Carte's Collect. of Letters of Earl of Ormonde, &c. fol. 51.

(b) Answer, page 163.

be : And therefore it behoves you, at your Time of Life, to think seriously of your Danger ; and the more, perhaps, as your Labour to revive our former Animosities, is as impotent as it is criminal. The Time is not at all favourable to you ; and if it had been, you want all the necessary Implements, Power and Talents.

Your thirty two Volumes, therefore, are but a poor Bugbear, to frighten your Adversaries with and can be of no real Service to you in the present Controversy ; as every unprejudiced Person must necessarily look upon them to be less authentic, than even those detached Pieces which *Temple* and others have, with so much Art and Care, culled out and published, as the *choicest* among them ; because these *latter* have been so many Years in Print, a Circumstance which, at least, prevents all Suspicion of Alterations as to Dates or Numbers, or any other Interpolations to which manuscript Papers, penned by Order of *interested and malicious Enemies*, and passing for more than a Century through the *same suspected Channel*, may be justly thought liable.

But what, I believe, has raised your Mettle to so high a Pitch, is, the Author of the DIALOGUE's saying that " the *Irish* did not *begin* this Tragedy, " and that it has been ever confidently averred by " them (nor ever yet, that he had heard, disprov- " ed by their Enemies) *that the Slaughter of three " thousand of their innocent People, Men, Wo- " men and Children, at Carrickfergus, perpetrated " in one Night by the Scotch and English Soldiers, " in November, 1641, was the first considerable " Massacre on either Side, in Ulster, that was com- " mitted in this Rebellion.*"

On

---On this Occasion, you first cry out, (c) "It is strange *he* should assert, that the *Protestants* began the Tragedy, when *I have fully demonstrated*, Page 123. of my Answer, that the *Papists* committed many inhuman Massacres even on the *first Day* of the Rebellion, and for many Days *after*."---This is, indeed, such a Stretch of Effrontery as I have seldom, if ever, seen equalled! But just now I have shewn you that, in this favourite Page of your Answer, there is not a Syllable to the Purpose which you either then did, or now do, mention it for; unless, perhaps, you are weak enough to think that the bare Assertion of an inveterate Enemy, such as *Temple* undoubtedly was, can amount to a full Demonstration! not to repeat, a second Time, that this very Assertion appears to be a *Falsehood*, by a Letter of the Lords Justices and Council, already cited, to which that Enemy had himself subscribed.

But how came you, Sir, to say, That the Author of the DIALOGUE has asserted that the *Protestants* began the Tragedy, when you know that he *only related* what the *Irish* of those Times had always asserted on that Occasion? You might with equal Truth, have said, That *Borlase* himself asserts the same Thing of the *Protestants*, when he tells us, that (d) "the Report that his Majesty's *Protestant Subjects* first fell upon and murdered the *Roman-Catholics*, got Credit and Reputation, and was *openly and frequently asserted*."---And hence, by the Way, you may learn somewhat of the Antiquity of this Charge. But the Author of the DIALOGUE widely differs both from *Borlase* and you, when you dignify with the Name of (e) *Protestants*,

(c) Answer, page 164.

(d) History of the Irish Rebellion.

(e) "Protestants is a term used in all the instruments and writings of the Irish Roman Catholics, in those times, to signify such

tants, those *Scotch* and *English* Puritans at *Carri-fergus*, and elsewhere, who committed these Massacres. Nor did the *Irish* Popish Clergy themselves ever distinguish them by the Name of *Protestants*; but in all their public Acts have stigmatized them with their true Characteristic, that of (f) "*Puritan Enemies*." And the *Protestant* Church of *Ireland* (g) soon found, to her Ruin, that they and their Chiefs were, indeed, a Set of furious anti-episcopal, as well as antimonarchical Sectaries, whom, therefore, she hath ever most justly disclaimed.

I shall now particularly consider that Part of your *convincing Answer*, which relates to the Massacre itself. And here, in the first Place, you are mighty arch and satirical on one *Wilford*, a Printer of *London*; who, it seems, had published one of those Pamphlets, which mention this Butchery at the Island of *Magee*: Next, you bestow some pleasant Strictures on the little Arts made Use of by Booksellers, to increase the Sale of their Goods: Then, all of a sudden, you grow extremely angry at the Letters R. S. which happen to be prefixed to that Pamphlet, as the initial Letters of the Author's Name. You say, "it is a lying Pamphlet; that the Author of it was a *Papist*; that you have a Right to except to him."---and so forth.

And what is the Reason, after all, for keeping such a Pother about this Pamphlet? Because, truly, the Author of the *DIALOGUE*, in instancing this Massacre at the Island of *Magee*, has referred to it in a marginal Note, as one of those Pamphlets, wherein

"as were of the principles and Communion of the Church of England, in contradistinction to the Puritans who differed from them in certain doctrines, and laboured to subvert the Hierarchy, and abolish the Liturgy of the Church." *Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, Vol. I. fol. 182-3.

(f) See Appendix.

(g) "On the 20th of June, 1647, the common-prayer was prohibited by proclamation (in Ireland.)" *Ware*, fol. 181.

wherein it is mentioned !---And are you really so silly as to imagine, that, although you had effectually destroyed the Authority of that Pamphlet, (which you shall just now find you are very far from having done,) it would from thence follow, that this Fact, related also by others, must necessarily be false? The Author of that Pamphlet was, probably, a *Papist*; but the Author of the *DIALOGUE* was under no Necessity of citing his, or any other *Papist's* Authority, to prove the Truth of a Fact, which has been confessed, in Print, by both *Borlase* and yourself: By you, where you have assigned a false *Excuse* for it, and say that (*h*) “ the SLAUGHTER at that Place (*Carrickfergus*) did not happen “ till the End of *November*, 1641, in Revenge for “ many Murders committed by the *Irish* on the “ (*i*) *Scots* in the North.”---and by *Borlase*, in his History of this Rebellion, where he has taken much insignificant Pains to prove, that this Massacre was not *the first committed on either Side*, in *Ireland*, as *R. S.* affirms; but never once goes about to deny or disprove the *Fact* itself.

That your Excuse for this Massacre at *Carrickfergus* is, indeed, a (*k*) Falsehood; and that no Num-
M ber

(*i*) Essay on the Improvement of the History of Ireland.

(*i*) This is false; because the *Irish*, in the beginning of this rebellion made “ proclamation, on Pain of Death, that no Scotoman “ should be molested in Body Goods, or Lands.” *Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, Vol. I. fol. 178 And therefore it is highly probable that the *Scots* were the first aggressors at this time. Lord justice Parsons seems to have had this massacre in view, from what appears in his letter of the 14th of November, 1641, to the marquis of Clanricarde, viz. “ The *Scots* do hold them (the northern “ rebels) hard to it, having killed some of them.” *Clanricarde's Mem.* fol. 19.

(*k*) That this massacre was committed early in November, 1641; and that it was that, which provoked the *Irish* to such acts of cruelty, as they afterwards committed on the *English*, will appear most probable from the following passage in *Mr. Carte*. — “ On the 15th “ of this month, (November) the rebels, after a fortnight's siege, “ reduced the castle of Lurgan; Sir William Bromley, after a stout

ber of Murders, deemed worthy of the Government's Notice, was committed by the *Irish*, on either the *Scotch* or *English*, in *Ulster*, before the 23d of *December*, 1641, hath been already demonstrated by Proofs, which you have not been able in the least to invalidate; and which, therefore, I need not now repeat or enforce.

But you are still carping at the Veracity of the Author of this Pamphlet, as if the Decision of this whole Controversy depended on the Fate of it. You say, that (1) "although he has mentioned " this Massacre in the Island of *Magee*, as the " *first* committed on either Side in *Ireland*; yet, " in other Parts of his Book, he relates several " other Massacres, to which he has affixed a *prior* " Date." After particularly reciting of which, you smartly ask the Author of the DIALOGUE, " what " he thinks of this contradictory Evidence?"

I will tell you, Mr. *Harris*, what both he and I think of it, in as few Words as possible.

First,

" defence, surrendering it upon terms of marching out with his family and goods: but, such was the unworthy disposition of the " rebels that they kept him, his lady and children, prisoners; rifled " his house; plundered, killed, and stripped most of his servants, " and treated all the townsmen in the same manner. This was the " first Breach of Faith, which the Rebels were guilty of, at least " in these Parts, in regard of Articles of Capitulation: for, when " Mr. Conway, on Nov. 5, surrendered his castle of Ballaghie in " the county of Derry to them; they kept the terms, for which he " stipulated, and allowed him to march with his men, and to carry " away Trunks and Money in them, to Antrim. Whether the " Slaughter made by a Party from Carrickfergus, in the Territory " of *Magee*, a long narrow Island running from that Town up to " *Olderfleet* (in which it is affirmed that near three thousand harmless Irish, Men, Women, and Children, were cruelly massacred) happened before the surrender of Lurgan, is hard to be determined; " the Relations published of Facts, in these Times, being very indistinct and uncertain, with regard to the Time when they were " committed; though it is confidently asserted, that the said massacre happened in this month of November." *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, Vol. I. fol. 188.

(1) Answer, page 170.

First, then, the Author of the DIALOGUE mentions this Massacre at *Carrickfergus*, or the Island of *Magee*, *only* as the *first* committed in *Ulster* in this Rebellion; but all the Instances of Murder, committed on the *Irish* of a *prior* Date, which you have quoted from that Pamphlet, were committed in *other Parts* of *Ireland*, and not one of them in *Ulster*; and consequently they do not affect or concern the Author of the DIALOGUE at all; how much soever they may seem to affect the Author of the Pamphlet in Question, whom, therefore, I am now going to vindicate from your stupid Misrepresentations.

For, secondly, the Author of this Pamphlet, which is intitled, *A Collection of some of the Massacres and Murders committed on the Irish since the Year 1641*, after having briefly related the horrible Slaughter in the Island of *Magee*, has subjoined these Words, (or rather some meddling Reader of the Manuscript, for him, by Way of Comment, which is neither an unlikely, nor uncommon Practice,) “Note, this was the *first* “MASSACRE committed in *Ireland*, on either “Side.”--- He does not say the *first Murder*: Now, Sir, your Dictionary will inform you, that the Word *Massacre*, in *Latin* is *Internecio*, which signifies a *general Slaughter*; or the Killing, promiscuously, of a much greater Number of People, than the Word *Murder* was ever thought to signify; And the Author of this *Collection* has intimated that to have been his own Sense, as to the different Significations of these Words, by intituling his Book, *A Collection of some of the Massacres and Murders*, &c. Wherefore, since those Murders, which are mentioned by him as committed on the *Irish* before November 1641, even taken *collectively*, are vastly inferior, in Number, to the Slaughter in the

Island of *Magee*; it is evident, that he judged that Slaughter to have been a *Massacre*, and not any of the lesser *Murders* that were previous to it; and consequently, that this Slaughter in the Island of *Magee* was the first *Massacre*, though not the first *Murder*, at that Time, committed on either Side.

This Construction is easy and natural, and affords a proper and full Answer to your Question. But you have yourself furnished me with *another*, which I will not omit, if it were only to shew you, that while you thus unmercifully exult, in your imagined Conquest, over the artless Writer of this *Collection*, your own elaborate Answer, on this Occasion, has supplied me with a real Argument in his Defence: For, you say, that (m) “the Collector,” (so you call this Author) “tells us, that this *Massacre* in the Island of *Magee* was committed about the Beginning of *November*, which (you add) *may imply many Days before, or many Days after the 1st of November*; and his View (you think) in this, was to lead his incautious or credulous Reader to believe, *that it was committed on the 23d of October, the Day on which the Rebellion broke out, or soon after.*”

You are, no Doubt, highly delighted with the Ingenuity of this Comment: But, good Mr. *Harris*, since you have voluntarily confessed, that, by the Words, “about the Beginning of *November*,” *many Days before the 1st of November may be implied*; then, certainly, *every Day* up to the 23d of *October*, inclusive.---It will, therefore, follow, from your own Interpretation of that Author’s Words, That this *Massacre* in the Island of *Magee* might have been committed on any Day *after* the 22d of *October*, until some Time in *November* following; and consequently might have been (notwithstanding the

the other Instances mentioned by him) the *first*, not only Massacre, but Murder, perpetrated on the innocent *Irish*, by the *Scotch* and *English Puritans*, in this Rebellion.

And is this the mighty *Contradiction*, which you say (n) “ the Civilians call *Crimen falsi*, or Perjury; and for which the Collector, (you insinuate) might be sentenced to the Pillory, and the Author of the DIALOGUE, for only citing him, *subject to the same Punishment* ?-----Good Sir, if the publishing in Print but one seeming, or even real Mistake, (supposing *this* had been such,) by which no Mortal could receive Prejudice, has, in your Opinion, merited such severe Chastisement: Surely, the vending, in the same public Manner, numberless notorious Slanders and Perjuries, that have been fatal to the Lives, Reputations, Fortunes and Liberties, of so many Thousands, ought, in all Justice, to subject the Authors and Propogators of them to a Punishment much more severe and ignominious! and in that Case, my Friend, what would have long since become of your *incomparable* Sir *John Temple*, your *ingenious* Doctor *Borlase*, and your own indefatigable *Self*?

Upon the Author of the *Collection*'s asserting, that none of the Catholics about the Island of *Magee* were in Arms, when this Massacre was committed upon them; (o) you ask, “ were there any *Priests* among them? if so (you add) they *could not be Innocent*, when their neighbouring Territories were in Flames about them, considering the Disposition and Influence of those Ecclesiastics.”

This is such a far-fetched, pitiful, and common-place Slur upon the Dispositions and Influence

(n) Ib. page 171.

(o) Ib. page 163.

of Priests, that it is hardly worthy of any Notice : I must, however, acquaint you, Sir, that you might have learned more charitable and just Sentiments of the Disposition and Influence of some of these Ecclesiastics, even from a Letter of the then Lords Justices and Council ; by which we find that (p) “ their Lordships did listen to an offer made by “ some of them to go to the Rebels and treat with “ them.” And if they did not succeed in that Treaty, and prevail upon these Rebels to return to their Allegiance, the Reason was not the Want of a good Disposition in these Ecclesiastics to effect it ; but it was, according to *Borlase* himself, because (q) “ Sir *Phelim O Neile* would yield to no Treaty “ unless the Lord *Macguire*, *Macmabon*, and the “ rest in the Castle, might be freed ; which the “ State refusing with Indignation, that Affair “ ended.”

(r) Doctor *Maxwell* (afterwards made Bishop of *Kilmore* for his signal Services against the Rebels) deposeth, that “ Doctor *Dally* preached so vehemently against Murder, that in the End, he was “ forced

(t) See Temple's and Borl. History of the Irish Rebellion.

(g) History of the Irish Rebellion.

(r) See Appendix to Borl. History of the Irish Rebellion.

“ The Irish rebellion was imputed to Roman Catholic Priests, “ though not above two or three of them appeared to know any “ thing of the Conspiracy.” Carte, ib. fol. 234.

At the taking of Cashel by the provoked Irish, many of whose harmless and quiet friends, the English officers and soldiers had inhumanly murdered, “ Doctor Samuel Pullen, (says Mr. Carte) chancellor of Cashel, and dean of Clonsfert, with his wife and children, was preserved by F. James Saul, a jesuit. Several other “ Romish priests distinguished themselves on this occasion by their “ endeavours to save the English ; particularly, F. Joseph Everard “ and Redmond English, both franciscan friars, who hid some of “ them in their chapel, and even under the Altar : which was proved “ by some of those so preserved, at the tryal of the latter at Clonmell assizes, in 1652 ; upon which he was acquitted, and had a “ privilege granted him of living in the country ; the like offer being made to father Joseph Everard. And soon after, the English, “ who had been thus preserved, were, according to their desire,

“ forced to fly himself for a Safeguard of his Life.”
 ---Do not both *Clarendon* and *Borlase* testify, that
Mr. Higgins, a Priest, did, by his sole Charity and
 Power, preserve very many of the *English Protestants*
 from the Rage and Fury of the *Irish*? And was
 not the (s) barbarous Requitall he met with, from the
 Lords Justices themselves, sufficient to hinder others
 from doing the like humane Offices? Was not your
 own loyal and honest *Peter Walsh* a Popish Ecclesi-
 astic, and then, and long after, in the Midst of
 these Rebels? In short; did not a Popish Eccle-
 siastic discover the clandestine Oath that (t) (*Bor-
 lase* tells us) was imposed on some in *Drogheda*, in 1641,
 to seize on the Soldiers, when asleep, and kill o-
 thers, in Order to deliver up the Town to the
 Rebels?

You yourself, *Mr. Harris*, have (u) long since in-
 formed us in your Account of Bishop *Bedell*, (when,
 perhaps, you was not quite so much interested as
 you are at present, to slander and defame these Eccle-
 siastics,) that those *Irish* Rebels, who, doubtless,
 had many Popish Ecclesiastics among them, gave
 neither his Lordship, when their Prisoner, nor the
Protestants that were with him, any Disturbance
 even in the Exercise of their Worship, although
 “ not only his House and all the Out-build-
 “ ings; but the Church and Church-yard, were
 “ full of People that fled to him for Shelter :---
 “ So that (say you) from the 23d of *October*, the
 “ Day on which the Rebellion broke out, to the
 “ 18th of *December* following, he and all those with-
 “ in
 “ safely conveyed into the county of *Cork*, by a guard of the *Irish*
 “ inhabitants of *Cashel*; who acted with so much good faith in
 “ the affair, that several of the convoy were wounded in defending
 “ them from the violence of a rabble, that way-laid and attacked
 “ them, upon the mountains, in their passage.” Id. *ibid*, fol. 267.

(s) See page 130.

(t) History of the Irish Rebellion, fol. 82.

(u) Irish Bishops, fol. 239.

“ in his Walls-enjoyed (to a Miracle) perfect Qui-
 “ et. ---That, when he died, at the Age of seventy-
 “ one, the titular Bishop of that Diocese suffered
 “ him to be buried in consecrated Ground : That
 “ the *Irish* did him unusual Honours at his Fune-
 “ ral ; the Chief of the Rebels having assembled
 “ their Forces, and with them accompanied his
 “ Body to the Church-yard, with great Solemnity,
 “ and desired Mr. *Clogy* (a Clergyman) to bury
 “ him according to the (Protestant) Church-of-
 “ fices : That, at his Interment, they discharg-
 “ ed a Volley of Shot, crying out in *Latin*, *Hic*
 “ *requiescat ultimus Anglorum. May the last of*
 “ *the English rest in Peace.*---But what (you add)
 “ came from *Edmund Farrilly*, a *Popish* Priest, at
 “ the Interment, is, I perfectly agree with you, too
 “ remarkable, and too well attested, to be passed
 “ over, on this Occasion ; viz. his crying out,
 “ *O sit anima mea cum Bedello ! I would to God my*
 “ *Soul were with Bedell !*”

But, not to dwell longer on Particulars : That
 these *Popish* Ecclesiastics, far from encouraging, did
 endeavour to prevent, early in this Rebellion, all
 Acts of Cruelty and Injustice, by strictly forbid-
 ding them, under the severest Penalties that they
 could inflict, is manifest from the Acts of the ge-
 neral Congregation of their Prelates at *Kilkenny*,
 in *May 1642*, extant in (w) *Borlase* : Wherein,
 among many other Orders for that humane and
 christian Purpose, may be found the following.

“ We will and declare all thoe that murder, dis-
 “ member, or grievously strike ; all Thieves, un-
 “ lawful Spoilers, Robbers of any Goods, Extor-
 “ ters, together with all such as favour, receive, or
 “ any Ways assist them, to be excommunicated ; and so
 “ to remain, until they completely amend, and sa-
 “ tisfy

“tisfy, no less than if they were *namely* proclaimed
“excommunicated.”

It was also ordained by that Congregation, that
“all and every such as, from the Beginning of
“the War, had invaded the Possessions of Goods,
“as well moveable as immoveable, SPIRITUAL or
“temporal, of any *Irish Protestant*, not being an
“Adversary of that Cause and did detain them,
“should be *excommunicated*.

Here, Sir, is an authentic and unanswerable
Proof of these Ecclesiastics’ just, and humane
Regards to the *Protestants of Ireland*, in that dis-
tracted and miserable Conjunction.---But, authen-
tic and unanswerable as it is, I expect not that you
will *receive*, or at least *own*, Conviction from
it. According to Custom, you will labour to
evade this Fact, merely because you cannot an-
swer or refute it : And you will divert the Rea-
der’s Attention to some other Part of the Con-
duct of these Ecclesiastics, which Nobody will
approve of ; and which, even they themselves
have retracted and reformed. You will, doubt-
less, object in this Place, with *Clarendon*, (x) the
“unhappy, unprelatical, and *uncatholic* Proceed-
“ings” of the Bishops and other Clergy assem-
bled at *Jamestown* and *Galway*, in 1650, in excom-
municating all those of their Communion, who
adhered to, or any Way assisted the Marquis of
Ormonde, then his Majesty’s Lieutenant-General,
and General-Governor of *Ireland*. I am very far
from vindicating or approving these Proceedings.
Clarendon himself confesses, that (y) “all the so-
“ber Professors of the Roman-catholic Religion,
“at that Juncture, abhorred them ; and that
“most of the Commissioners of Trust, the prin-
“cipal

(x) History of the Irish Rebellion.

(y) Ib.

" cipal Nobility, and most considerable Gentry,
 " remained in their particular Affection and Resolu-
 " tion, firm and unshaken in their Devotion to the
 " King, and in their Submission to the Authority
 " of his Lieutenant, *notwithstanding that Excom-*
 " *munication.*" (z) Nay, that " not only the whole
 " Nobility and Gentry of Fortune and Interest,
 " some very few excepted, but also *many pious and*
 " *learned Men of the secular and regular Clergy,*
 " *and even some of their Bishops, did abhor and*
 " *abominate the Proceedings of that Congregation,*
 " and the Doctrine they infus'd into the People:
 " And that the same was disowned by some of
 " those Bishops last mentioned, as being obtruded
 " on them by the major Vote, or done by their Pro-
 " curators, without their Assent or Knowledge."

Yet, after all, Sir, Truth and Justice oblige us
 to confess, That these unjustifiable Proceedings of
 that Congregation were not *altogether unprovoked* :
 For, not to mention that many of the most con-
 siderable of the confederated *Irish* did long sus-
 pect (whether justly or no, I will not determine)
 that those great and frequent Losses and Defeats,
 which they had sustained since the Peace of 1648,
 were chiefly occasioned by the Marquis of *Or-*
monde's Disregard or Hatred to their Nation and
 Religion; it is a Fact confessed on all Hands, that
 these Prelates of *Jamestown* and *Galway*, did not
 publish their Excommunication until the 15th of
September, 1650; before which Time, (a) they
 had received certain Intelligence that his (b) " Ma-
 " jesty,

(z) Ib.

(a) Clarend. ib.

(b) Extract of his Majesty's Declaration at Drumferling, on the
 16th day of August, 1650. Sir Edward Walker's Historical
 Discourses, fol. 172.

— " And his Majesty having, upon a full Persuasion of the
 " justice, and equity of all the heads and articles thereof now sworn,
 " and subscribed, the national Covenant of the Kingdom of Scot-

“ jesty, who was then in *Scotland*, had not only
 “ *sworn* and *subscribed* the SOLEMN LEAGUE and
 “ COVENANT, and thereby engaged himself to pro-
 “ scribe and exterminate all the Professors of the
 “ *Roman Catholic Religion*, throughout his Domi-
 “ nions ; but also that he had published a *Declaration*
 “ at *Drumferling*, on the 16th of *August* preceding,
 “ wherein he declared the Peace concluded with
 “ the *Irish*, in 1648, by the Marquis of *Ormonde*,
 “ and confirmed by his Royal Father and himself,
 “ and which was the only Security the *Irish*
 “ were then possessed of, for the Preservation of
 “ their Lives, the Recovery of their Fortunes, and
 “ the free Exercise of their Religion, to be *null*
 “ and *void* : And *that* upon no other Account, (c)
 “ but the supposed Unlawfulness of concluding any
 “ Peace with those Persons, who were branded
 “ with many ignominious Reproaches.”

And hence it was, that these Prelates did set
 forth in that Declaration, which was annexed to,
 and published with, their Excommunication ; that
 as,

“ land, and the Solemn League, and Covenant of the three king-
 “ doms of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*, doth declare that he
 “ hath not sworn and subscribed those Covenants, and entered into
 “ the Oath of God, with his people upon any sinister intention,
 “ and crooked design, &c. in order to which he doth profess and de-
 “ clare, that he will have no Enemies, but the Enemies of the Co-
 “ venant ; and therefore he doth now detest and abhor all Popery,
 “ Superstition and Idolatry, together with Prelacy, &c. and resolves
 “ not to tolerate, much less allow, of those in any Part of his Ma-
 “ jesty's Dominions, but to oppose himself thereto, and to endea-
 “ vour the Extirpation thereof to the utmost of his power — His
 “ Majesty is convinced in Conscience of the exceeding great Sinfu-
 “ lness, and Unlawfulness of that Treaty and Peace (1648) made
 “ with the bloody *Irish Rebels*, &c. and of allowing unto them the
 “ Liberty of the Popish Religion ; for which he doth desire in his
 “ heart to be deeply humbled before the Lord, &c. doth declare the
 “ same to be void ; and that, he should have sought unto so unlaw-
 “ ful help for the restoring of him to his throne, and resolving for
 “ the time to come rather to chuse affliction, than Sin.”

Ib. fol. 173.

(c) Clarend. Borl. Hist. of the Irish Reb.

as, "for ought appearing unto them, *his Majesty*
 "had by that Declaration (of the 16th of *August*
 "preceding) (*d*) withdrawn his Authority from the
 "Lord Lieutenant, and cast away the Irish Nation,
 "as bloody Rebels, from his Protection, they could
 "not understand the Mystery of preserving that Au-
 "thority among them, or how it could be done :
 "And that they believed the best Remedy to ob-
 "viate the Inconvenience of the People's closing
 "with the Parliament (the King's Authority be-
 "ing thus taken from them) was, to return to their
 "former Confederacy, as it was intended by the
 "Nation, in Case of the Breach of the Peace on
 "the Part of his Majesty."

This, Sir, is a true State of that Transaction ;
 which I do not mention as an Excuse for, but as
 some Alleviation of, the undutiful Proceedings of
 this Congregation. And some Alleviation it will
 certainly be allowed to be, if we consider ; That,
 upon these Prelates' having, soon after, received
 an Assurance from the Marquis of *Ormonde* (*e*)
 "that, notwithstanding the Declaration obtained
 "from his Majesty, by undue Means, his Excel-
 "lency was resolved, through all Hazards, in
 "Behalf of the Nation, to insist upon, and assert
 "the Lawfulness of the Conclusion of that Peace,
 "(1648) by Virtue of the aforesaid Authority, and
 "the said Peace was still lawful and binding unto
 "his Majesty and all his Subjects."---After these
 Prelates, I say, had received such (*f*) Assurance;
 they did, in the next general Assembly of all the
 Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Gentry of all
 the Confederate Catholics, held at *Loughrea*, on the
 17th of *December* following, DECLARE and PROTEST,

" of

(.) Clarend. Borl. Hist. of the Irish Reb.

(e) Id. ibid.

(f) Ib. p. 185.

“ *their own Accords*, that by their Excommunication
 “ and Declaration at *Jam Town*, in *August* prece-
 “ ding, they had no other m, but the *Preservation*
 “ of the *Catholic Religion* and People; and that they
 “ did not propose to make any Usurpation on his
 “ Majesty's Authority, or on the Liberties of the Peo-
 “ ple, confessing that it did not belong to their Juris-
 “ diction so to do*.”

I am almost ashamed to take Notice of the many
 foul, and palpable Calumnies, with which *Claren-*
don and other Writers have branded the subsequent
 Behaviour of these Ecclesiastics, under the Govern-
 ment of the Lord Deputy *Clanricarde*, in 1651; by
 confidently relating, that “ the greatest Part of them
 “ had no mind to have any Relation to the Eng-
 “ lish Nation, and as little to return to their Obedi-
 “ ence to the Crown: --- (g) That the Roman-Ca-
 “ tholic Forces, then under the said Earl of *Clan-*
ricarde, had as much of Ireland in their Power,
 “ as could maintain a War against the English Rebels
 “ in that Kingdom: So that his Excellency (says
 N *Clarendon*)

(g) Id. ib. p. 185, &c. * This assembly, at Loughrea, in a let-
 ter to his Excellency, the marq. of Ormonde, on his intending to
 leave the kingdom, declares, “ That the lords spiritual and tempo-
 “ ral, and the gentry met in that assembly, conceived that there
 “ was not a better foundation, or ground for their union, than their
 “ holding to, and obeying, his Majesty's authority, to which they
 “ owned, and thought to pay all dutiful obedience; and they
 “ did thereby declare and protest, that their allegiance unto his
 “ Majesty's authority was such, and so inherent in them,
 “ that they could not be withdrawn from the same; nor was
 “ there any power in the lords spiritual or temporal, gentry, or
 “ people, clergy, or laity, of the kingdom, that could alter, or
 “ change, or take away, his Majesty's authority; they holding that
 “ to be the chiefest flower of the crown, and the support of the
 “ people's liberties; which they did thereby declare, protest, and
 “ avow; and that they did esteem the same, and obedience there-
 “ unto essentially, inviolably, and justly due from them, and the
 “ chiefest means under God to uphold their union and preservation.”

Clarend. ib. p. 181.

“(b) *Clarendon*) had Argument enough to hope,
 “if he could be confident of the Union of the
 “Nation; and he might reasonably promise him-
 “self an Union of the Nation, if he could be con-
 “fident of the affections and Integrity of the
 “Clergy: ---That it was by the Advice and Influ-
 “ence of (i) this Clergy, that the Confederate
 “Ca-

(b) *Ib.* p. 186.

(i) Extract of the Acts of the general Congregation of the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland. *Borl. Hist. of the Irish Reb.* f 296.

“We the archbishops, bishops, &c. having met at Clanmacnosc,
 “on the 4th day of December, in the year of our Lord God, 1649,
 “taking into our consideration, among many other affairs then agi-
 “tated, and determined for the preservation of the kingdom, that
 “many of our flock are mislead by a vain opinion of hopes that the
 “commander in chief of the rebels forces, commonly called the
 “parliamentaries, would afford them good conditions, and that,
 “relying thereon, they suffer utter destruction of religion, lives,
 “and fortunes, if not prevented.——We cannot therefore, in our
 “duty to God, and in discharge of the care we are obliged to have
 “for the preservation of our flocks, but admonish them not to de-
 “lude, and lose themselves with the vain expectation of conditions
 “to be had from that merciless enemy. And consequently we be-
 “sech the gentry and inhabitants, for God’s glory, and their own
 “safety, to the uttermost of their Power to contribute with Pa-
 “tience to the Support of the War against that Enemy, in hopes,
 “that, by the blessing of God, they may be rescued from the threat-
 “ened evils, &c. Admonishing also those that are enlisted of the
 “army to prosecute constantly, according to each man’s charge, the
 “trust reposed in them, the opposition of the common enemy, in
 “so just a war as is that they have undertaken for their religion,
 “king, and country, as they expect the blessing of God to fall on
 “their actions; and that to avoid God’s heavy judgment, and the
 “indignation of their native country, they neither plunder, nor op-
 “press the people, &c.

“Signed by

“Hugo, Ardmach. Fr. Tho. Dubliniens. Tho. Cashel. Jo. Arch.
 Tuamens. Fr. Boetius, Elphin. Fr. Edw. Laglinens. & Procurat.
 Waterfordiens. Emer. Clogher. Robert. Corcagienf. &
 Cluanens. Nichol. Fernens. Edmund. Limericenf. & Procurat.
 Episcop. Ossorienf. Franc. Aladens. Andreas. Timbornens.
 Joan. Laonens. Fr. Oliver. Dromorens. Fr. Anton. Clanmac-
 nosens. Fr. Hugo. Duacensis. Fr. Arthur. Dunensis & Con-
 nerenf. Fr. Terent. Imolacent. Fr. Patric. Ardagh. Oliver.
 Deize, Procurat. Episcop. Medens. Doct. Jo. Hufley, Pro-
 curat. Episcop. Ardferrens. Fr. Jo. Cantwell, Abbas S. Cru-
 cis. Doct. Thad. Clary, Episcop. Rapot. Procurator.

Walter. Clonsfertens. Congregationis Secretarius.”

“ Catholics were first inclined to treat with the
 “ *English* Rebels for Conditions: And that after-
 “ wards, such Offers were made to the Duke of
 “ *Lorrain*, by Commissioners of *their chusing*, as
 “ in effect transferred the whole Right and Sove-
 “ reignty of that Kingdom from his Majesty to his
 “ Highness.”

But the Falsity of all this will evidently appear, by a few Extracts from that State of his Majesty's Affairs, and the Condition of his faithful Subjects in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, *April 12, 1651*; which was sent by the Marquis of *Clanricarde* himself, to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, on Occasion of this Negotiation and Treaty with the Duke of *Lorrain's* Embassador, for Men, Money and Ammunition, to be by his Highness transmitted into *Ireland*, for his Majesty's Use and Service, against the *English* Rebels there.

For, that Memorial sets forth that, “ (k) the
 “ Power and Success of the Rebels *was then such*,
 “ as the whole Nation was in their Possession, or
 “ subject to their Contribution, except the Pro-
 “ vince of *Conaught* and County of *Clare*, and his
 “ Majesty's City of *Limerick* and Town of *Galway*:
 “ And that the said Province of *Conaught* and
 “ County of *Clare* were, *for the most Part, waste*:
 “ That many of his Majesty's Forces, that hither-
 “ to had their Relief out of other Quarters, had
 “ been forced, for their Safety, to retire to the
 “ said Province of *Conaught* and County of *Clare*;
 “ which, together with the Forces maintained
 “ there formerly, were become so burthensome to
 “ the People, that they were thereby *utterly improve-*
 “ *rished*: That the Nation being in this Condition,
 “ no considerable Forces could be brought together,
 “ *to maintain a defensive War against the Rebels, much*

“ *less an offensive*: That the City of *Limerick* and
 “ Town of *Galway*, observing all other his Majesty’s
 “ Cities and Towns of Strength within the King-
 “ dom to be lost; and that there were no conside-
 “ rable Forces to relieve them, in Case they were
 “ besieged, nor any Probability, for Want of Means,
 “ that such Forces could be brought together *had*,
 “ *of a long Time, out of the feeling Sense they had of*
 “ *their own Destruction, been inclined to treat for*
 “ *Conditions with the Rebels*, before the Danger might
 “ come nearer to them.---That the same was the
 “ Resolution of most of the other People of *Ireland*,
 “ *who could not humanly see how they could be otherwise*
 “ *preserved*: And that many of the Officers of his
 “ Majesty’s Army, finding the sad Condition the
 “ Nation was reduced unto, did, from several
 “ Parts of the Kingdom, represent their Sense,
 “ that it was *absolutely necessary, for the People’s Pre-*
 “ *servation, to treat with the Rebels for Conditions, see-*
 “ *ing there was no Power to resist them.*”

By this Account, Sir, (the Truth of which you
 will not, I hope, dispute) it is fully manifest, that
 “ the Roman-Catholic Forces, then under the
 “ Command of his Excellency, the Marquis of
 “ *Clanricarde*, HAD NOT AS MUCH OF IRELAND in
 “ their Power, as could maintain a War against
 “ the Rebels in that Kingdom.”---And that, what-
 ever Inclination they might have had to treat with
 these Rebels for Conditions, it was not at all owing
 to the Influence or Instigations of their Clergy;
 but naturally arose from that great and irremediable
 Distress, to which they saw their Country reduced,
 and from the dismal Prospect of such Distress’s daily
 increasing, until it should end in their total
 Destruction.

Accordingly, Sir, the Marquis of *Clanricarde*
 informs us, that, as soon as these Catholics under-
 stood

stood, “(l) that his Highness, the Duke of Lorrain’s
 “ Embassador had arrived in *Ireland*, with Offers
 “ of powerful Assistance for the Preservation of the
 “ Catholic Religion, and his Majesty’s and Sub-
 “ ject’s Interest, the People took much Comfort
 “ and Encouragement thereby, *hoping that the Re-*
 “ *bels’ Power might be opposed*; and soon after did
 “ the said Towns, and all other Places, yet in his
 “ Majesty’s Obedience, seem more chearfully than
 “ before to assist his Majesty’s Authority, in oppo-
 “ sing the Rebels, and to disavow and disclaim any
 “ Treaty with them, though formerly inclined, if
 “ not resolved.”

Upon this, the Marquis of Clanricarde “(m) did
 “ authorize some of the Roman Catholic Prelates, and
 “ Commissioners of Trust to *treat with the said Em-*
 “ *bassador*; who being accordingly called together,
 “ with several Officers of the Army, after a long
 “ and serious Debate of the Matter proposed by
 “ his Highness’s Embassador, they, weighing the
 “ *unavoidable Danger* the Nation was in of falling
 “ into the Rebels Power; and how the People, if
 “ not suddenly assisted, were so much impoverished,
 “ as they would be utterly destroyed, or *forced to*
 “ *submit to the Rebels*, did therefore advise, That it
 “ was *absolutely necessary*, to accept of his said High-
 “ ness’s *Protection*: But the said Embassador’s Pro-
 “ positions being such as his Excellency the Lord
 “ Deputy could not consent unto, the Treaty and
 “ Conclusion for further Supplies, was put over to
 “ be determined by his Highness, or such as he
 “ would depute, and such as then should be au-
 “ thorised by the Lord Deputy in his Majesty’s
 “ Behalf.” His Excellency concludes with his own
 Opinion thus: “ So that, upon the whole Mat-

(l) Ib.

(m) Ib.

“ter, it is very evident, how great the Evils are
 “that will happen, if *immediately great Aids* be not
 “hastened to this Nation; for this Kingdom will,
 “by the fore-slowing thereof, *be entirely in the Ene-*
 “*my's Power and Possession, and the People universal'y*
 “*enforced to submit to them*; by which the Rebels will
 “have an Opportunity to *send from hence a great and*
 “*considerab'e Power, that may distract his Majesty's*
 “*Succes in England and Scotland*, and be an Occa-
 “sion of the Loss also of *his Majesty's entire Interests*
 “*in both his said other Kingdoms.*”--- And so, in
 Truth, it afterwards happened, by the breaking off
 of this Treaty with the Duke of *Lorrain*, through
 the joint and strenuous Opposition, which the two
 Marquises, *Glanricarde* and *Ormonde*, made to some
 Conditions, which his Highness insisted on, and
 which to these Noblemen seemed incompatible with
 his Majesty's Sovereignty of that Kingdom.

It is true, that the great Distress and imminent
 Danger the Nation was then in, together with the
 Apprehension of the fatal Consequences that might
 from thence result to his Majesty's Affairs in *Eng-*
land and Scotland, did induce the Lord *Taaffe*, Sir
Nicholas Plunkett, and *Geffry Brown*, Esq; (Com-
 missioners on this Occasion *chosen and authorised* by
 the Lord Deputy, the Marquis of *Clanricarde* (n)
 himself) to yield to the Sollicitations of the *private*
 (o) Agents of some of the *Irish* Clergy then at
Brussels, the Bishop of *Ferns* in particular, to ac-
 cept of (p) every Condition proposed by the Duke
 of

(n) See his Mem. Dub. Edit.

(o) See the same, *ibid*.

(p) After all, suppose this great necessity and distress had actually
 driven the Irish to accept of terms from the English rebels, at that
 juncture, where would have been the wonder of it? Could such a
 step have been imputed to them as a crime, which is commended
 and extolled by lord Clarendon himself, in the marquis of Ormonde,
 when lord lieutenant of Ireland, as an act of great prudence and
 wisdom? Had not his Excellency, that mirror of honour and

of *Lorrain*, rather than break off the Treaty; (for which the (q) Lord Deputy *Clanricarde* severely reprimanded, and threatened to proclaim them.) Yet, even this Step they did not take without the general Encouragement and Countenance of his Majesty, the Queen, and the Lord Lieutenant: For, not to mention his Majesty's and the Queen's (r) Letters to the Lord *Taaffe*, on this Negotiation; his Excellency, the Marquis of *Ormonde*, after having been made acquainted by that Lord, with all the Particulars of this Treaty, wrote to him from *Caen*, as follows (s): "Touch-

ing the Business of *Ireland*, and the Duke of " *Lor-*
loyalty, set the Irish a fair pattern for such a conduct, in the year 1646-7, when, for selfish considerations, he delivered up to the commissioners of these English rebels, the city and castle of Dublin, together with the regalia, rather than, by gratifying the Irish in some demands relating to the free exercise of their religion, accept of their joint and proffered assistance, to defend and maintain them for his Majesty? rather I say, than gratify the Irish, who, in the opinion of Sir Edward Walker himself, " would have become the " better subjects?" Hist. Collect. p. 231.

As for what Clarendon and most other historians assert, in excuse for this conduct of the marquis, viz. That his Excellency had private orders from his Majesty to make that shameful surrender, it appears to be groundless, from the marquis's own frequent and laboured endeavours, in his dispatches into England, and different parts of Ireland, to apologise for it: for, to omit other proofs, in a long and artfully contrived state of this affair, which he afterwards laid before his Majesty, he represents this act of his as done on a presumption, " That it was more for his Majesty's honour and service, and consequently more agreeable to his pleasure, which (adds " he) we then had neither Means nor Time to consult." After which, he strains hard to find reasons to vindicate his loyalty, in a proceeding, which was so manifestly repugnant to it; and then concludes his long apology with the following words; " These imperfect performances of my Duty to your Majesty, and these confused " relations of them, do not at all pretend to Justifications, but are " most humbly submitted to your Majesty." Carte's Collect. of Let. fol. 571. Would the marquis, or any reasonable person, have betrayed to the king such diffidence and mistrust of his conduct, were he conscious that he had his Majesty's own commands to warrant and uphold him in it?

(q) Id. ib.

(r) Id. ibid.

(s) See the same.

“ *Lorrain*, for aught appeared to me, *there is No-*
 “ *thing done, that were to be wished undone*; and for
 “ what remains, to produce new and further Sup-
 “ plies, it is left to the Agreement that shall be
 “ made with his Agent, by my Lord of *Glanricarde*,
 “ assisted by such as the late General Assembly have
 “ appointed; who, *as they are best Judges of their own*
 “ *Condition, so they have FREE LIBERTY from*
 “ *his Majesty, in Case of high Necessity*, to endeavour
 “ their own Preservation, *even by receiving Condi-*
 “ *tions from the Rebels*; which must be much more con-
 “ trary to his Interests, than to receive Helps from any
 “ other to resist them, ALMOST UPON ANY TERMS:
 “ Besides, you have in this made your Application
 “ (to the Queen) where the King hath commanded
 “ you: And so, *without new commands*, you are fairly
 “ quit of the Matter.”---(t) Lord Taaffe afterwards
 produced this Letter to the Marquis of *Glanricarde*,
 together with those of his Majesty and the Queen,
 for his own, and the other Commissioners’ Justifica-
 tion; and his Excellency owned that he was (u)
 puzzled by them.

Nay, we find that the King himself became an
 Advocate for these Commissioners, in his Letter to
 the Marquis of *Glanricarde*; constructing their
 Condescension in this Treaty in a kind and true
 Sense, viz. (w) “ That they had not any Purpose
 “ therein of *Undutifulness* or *Disrespect* towards his
 “ Majesty; and therefore that he graciously accep-
 “ ted their *future Service* and *Endeavours*.”---And,
 in a Letter to the Duke of *Lorrain* himself, his
 Majesty discovers his good Opinion of their *Intention*;
 and declares it to be his Belief, that those Offers,
 which they had made to his Highness, in Concert
 with

(t) Id. *ibid.*(u) Id. *ibid.*(w) Id. *ibid.*

with the private Agents of the *Irish* Clergy, “pro-
 “ceeded rather from the *Smart, Anguish, and gasp-*
 “*ing Condition of their* (x) *miserable Country, than*
 “*from Want of Affection and Duty to him and his*
 “*Interest.*”---So conscious was his Majesty that such
 Offers did not shew an Aversion or Dislike, in any
 of them, “to have any Relation to the *English*
 “Nation, or to return to their Obedience to the
 Crown.”

But, to resume the Massacre at *Carrickfergus*:
 What you have further added, with a View to shew
 the Prudence and Necessity of that Massacre, is very
 extraordinary, *viz.* addressing the Author of the DIA-
 LOGUE

(x) No misery, or desolation, can equal that which this nation
 suffered by this destructive war, and the consequences of it. “About
 “the years 1652 and 1653, (says an eye-witness) the plague and
 “famine had so swept away whole countries, that a man might
 “travel twenty or thirty miles, and not see a living creature, either
 “man, beast, or bird; they being either all dead, or had quit those
 “desolate places: that our soldiers would tell stories of the place
 “where they saw a smoak; it was so rare to see either smoak by
 “day, or fire, or candle by night. And when we did meet with
 “two or three poor cabbins, none but very aged men, with women
 “and children, (and those, with the prophet, might have com-
 “plained, ‘We are become as a Bottle in the Smoak, our Skin is
 “black like an Oven, because of the terrible famine;’) I have seen
 “those miserable creatures plucking stinking carrion out of a ditch,
 “black, and rotten; and been credibly informed that they digged
 “corpses out of the grave to eat: but the most tragical story I ever
 “heard was from an officer commanding a party of horse, who,
 “hunting for tories in a dark night, discovered a light, which they
 “supposed to be a fire which the tories usually made in those waste
 “countries, to dress their provisions, and warm themselves; but,
 “drawing near, they found it a ruined Cabin, and, besetting it
 “round, some did alight, and peep in at the window, where they
 “saw a great fire of wood, and a company of miserable old women
 “and children sitting round about it, and betwixt them and the
 “fire, a dead corpse lay broiling, which as the fire roasted, they cut
 “off collops, and eat.” Colonel Laurence’s *In uest of Irel.* 2d
 Part, p. 86, 87. So shocking a passage should not have been men-
 tioned; but that the inserting of it here was thought no improper
 means to deter others hereafter from madly running into those ex-
 cesses and outrages, which have heretofore produced such horrible
 distress in this kingdom.

LOGUE with a Sneer, you tell him, (y) “belike you
 “ would have had the *Scots* waited, till these three
 “ thousand of their Neighbours had marched down
 “ at their Backs”---and “know that in Times of
 “ general Confusion and Distraction, it would be
 “ difficult to *distinguish* between the innocent and
 “ guilty *Papists*; and Jealousies must be too strong
 “ for *Conscience* to plead for Mercy.---In short it
 “ does not appear that these Inhabitants of the Island
 “ of *Magee* sued for, or obtained Protections; or
 “ that they *offered Security* for their peaceable De-
 “ meanor.”---All these wretched Apologies, I say,
 for that, as unthought-of, as inhuman Massacre of
 three thousand Persons, of whose guilt you cannot
 produce the least Colour of a Proof; as they mani-
 festly imply a *Confession* of the *Fact*; so do they as
 manifestly discover in you, Mr. *Harris*, such an
 Inclination to *vindicate* it, as is shocking to common
 Humanity: Since Nothing can exceed the Barba-
 rity of that *Vindication*, but the actual *Perpetration*
 of the Massacre itself.

I shall now take Occasion, from your impotent
 Abuse of this Collection of *R.S.* to demonstrate, that,
 in Credibility and Authenticity, it is far superior to
 that in *Temple* and *Borlase*, which you so frequently
 have Recourse to, as your only Sheet-anchor; and in
 Answer to which, it was at first compiled and pub-
 lished.

1st. That the Accounts, sent to the *Irish* Chiefs,
 of the Murders perpetrated on their People, “by
 “ their *Puritan* Enemies,” in this Rebellion, had
 the Sanction of Oaths, and the Attestation of Per-
 sons in Authority among them, to support their
 Credit, is manifest, from the Acts of the general
 Congregation of their Clergy, just now mentioned;
 a Circumstance, which, though expressly taken
 Notice

Notice of in the Appendix to the *DIALOGUE*, you have thought fit to pass over *unnoticed*, in your Remarks on that Appendix, for Reasons too *obvious* to need any further Animadversion here.

2^{ly}. That this Collection was compiled from these (so *sworn* and attested) Accounts, as well as "from the Discourses of several disinterested Persons, *Protestants* and *Catholics*," evidently appears, from the Author's honest Confidence, in appealing to the *Knowledge* of several of his *Enemies*, by Name, who were then living, and of considerable Rank, concerning the Reality of some Facts which he mentions; and from his great Candour, in relating particular Murders committed on the *English* by the Rabble of the *Irish*, not only not excusing or extenuating them in any Manner; but, on the contrary, justly condemning them, and exposing, by Name, some of the Perpetrators of them; a Piece of Ingenuity and fair Dealing, which neither *Temple*, nor *Borlase*, has ever shewn. Although it is confessed, in general, by the latter of these Writers, that (z) "many Things, *contrary to the Law of Arms and Christianity*, were, during the Rebellion, *severely* committed by the *English*."---and although, where he mentions the Murders related in this Collection, (a) he confesses some Part of them; but pretends that they "were grounded on Breach of Faith," &c.: Yet he could not help adding, (for Murder will out)---"and it may be, others, upon the same Reasons, *ONLY suspected, were Partners in equal Sufferings*." But you ask (b)--- "Does this Collector's Appeal to Sir *Audley Mervyn*, Sir *Robert Hannah*, or others, prove the Facts to be true?" I answer, that this Collector's Appeal, in Print,

(z) Hist. of the Irish Rebel.

(a) Ibid.

(b) Answ. p. 172.

to the Knowledge of those Gentlemen, who were avowed and distinguished Enemies of the *Irish* Rebels, is a Proof, at least, that he did not fear to be detected in the publishing of Falsehoods: And, as these Gentlemen *did not deny* such Facts, though they they were thus publicly appealed to, and could not be ignorant of the Appeal, (as such Matters were then the Subject of every body's Consideration and Inquiry, and of the utmost Consequence to the Nation in general) there is all the Reason in the World to look upon their *Silence* as a plain though tacit, Confession of the Matter of Appeal: Because, in that Case, their *disowning* any Knowledge of these Things, would have taken away the Grounds, on which the Relater of them seemed to rest their *Credibility*; and, by Consequence, would have lessened the Credibility of every other Fact that he has published to the Prejudice of the *English*: Which would, indeed, have been the likeliest Way to detect and expose "this Fardle of "Lies," (as you and *Borlase* are pleased to call it) if it really had been such.

You own, that (c) "if this Collector had shewed that these Gentlemen appealed to, had confessed the Matter of Appeal, you would have readily submitted to the Evidence." But you know full well, Mr. *Harris*, that it would have been ridiculous to expect from these Gentlemen any such *public* Confession, at that Juncture, (and a *private* one would not have served your Turn:) Because they had all the Reason in the World to believe, that by making such public Confession, they would have ruined their own, and their Friends Interests, which were not then compatible with any Attestation of theirs in Favour of the unhappy *Irish*, however falsely accused. It is, therefore,

no

no Argument *against* the Truth of these Facts, that those Gentlemen appealed to, *did not* publicly *confess* them; but it is a very good one *for it*, that they *did not* publicly *deny* them.

(d) "But why," you justly object to yourself, "did not these Gentlemen, or others, attempt to 'prove the contrary?' Your Answer to this Question is, "'tis a hard Matter to prove a Negative," and "his whole Collection is such a Fardle of Lies, that you do not wonder at the Silence of the Age, in passing it over unnoticed."

That this Collection was passed over in Silence, and unnoticed, by the Writers of that Age, is manifestly *untrue*. For your favorite Writer, *Peter Walsh*, (e) refers to it, as authentic, in the Year, 1664. *Borlase*, in several Parts of his History of the Rebellion, carps at it by Name; and you yourself have (f) quoted above sixty Lines of that History, wherein you say, "he has taken this Collection to task." And indeed, he has so: but in such a bungling Manner, as evidently shews, that it was a bearded Arrow in the Sides of his Party, at which the more he tugged, in Order to get it out, the more he exasperated and enlarged the Wound.

As for "the Difficulty of proving a Negative," (another Reason assigned by you, why the *Contrary* of these Things was not made to appear;) you have, in two principal Instances of the Challenges made in this Collection, intirely *mistaken* the Matter: For, in both these, the Author of it has taken the *Negative* upon himself, and calls upon his Adversaries to prove *their own Affirmative*.---As for Example:---The *Irish Rebels* were accused, in (g) Print,

(d) Ib.

(e) Reply to a Person of Quality's Answer.

(f) Answ. p. 172-3.

(g) See Temple, Borlase, &c. Hist. of the Irish Rebel,

Print, of having barbarously murdered great Numbers of *Protestants*, at *Kilkenny* and *Graigue*. Now, the Author of the *Collection* informs us, " That
 " there was but one Woman accidentally smother-
 " ed in a Tumult at *Kilkenny*, and that there
 " were not any murdered at *Graigue*, during the
 " whole War: The Truth of which," adds he,
 " is so confidently averred by *Persons of Honour*
 " and *Quality*, as that they are content to allow
 " the whole (b) *Abstract for Truth*, if any *Protestants*
 " were murdered in either of those Places, but
 " the Woman aforesaid."

In the second Instance, these Rebels were likewise accused in Print, " of having (i) stripped
 " naked, and afterwards murdered, one hundred
 " and twenty Men, Women, and Children, at *Be-
 " leek*, in the County of *Mayo*." In Answer to
 which, the Author declares, that " not one Per-
 " son was murdered there; which," says he, " the
 " now *Lady Mountrath* can witness; her Lady-
 " ship, *Sir Thomas Hannah*, her Father, and many
 " others, having retreated thither for Security,
 " were all conveyed safe to *Manorhamilton*."

And it is remarkable, in the Case of *Kilkenny* and *Graigue*, that the *Affirmative*, which he thus challenges his Adversaries to prove, was not the Commission of *all* those Murders that were imputed to the *Irish*, but of any *one* of them *only*: Yet, even *That* they never attempted to prove; although, to encourage them to attempt it, he had undertaken, in the Name of *Persons of Honour and Quality*, to allow their whole *legendary Collection for Truth*, in Case they succeeded.

I will conclude this Head, by observing, That there never could have been a Time, at which it
 more

(b) Templ. and Borl. Lists of Murders.

(i) See Temple, Borlase, &c.

more nearly concerned these Adversaries of the *Irish* to disprove and falsify that Collection of R. S. than it did at that, about which it was first published in London; (k) when, and where, the Commissioners from the *Irish* Parliament were using all imaginable Industry and Artifice to blacken and defame the *Irish*, in this Article of Murders; in Order to hinder their being restored to their Estates, of which (l) "many Members of that Parliament were then unjustly possessed," and when the whole Body of the *Irish* Nobility and Gentry did, by their Agents, petition his Majesty, (m) "That all Murders committed on both Sides might be examined, and the Authors of them exempted out of all Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion."

And it was, surely, a Circumstance that would have quickened the Diligence of these Enemies of the *Irish* in this Undertaking, had they not known it to be impracticable, (n) "that some of these *Irish* did then," (and long before) "confidently aver, write, and openly proclaim, that those you call Protestants, were the first Aggressors in perpetrating these Murders." And the Author of the Collection himself, as I have already observed, sets out with this very Accusation, at the Head of all the Rest, in that dreadful Instance of the Massacre in the Island of *Magee*.

And here, let me ask you, what else, but a Consciousness of their Inability to clear themselves, or convict the *Irish*, of these imputed Cruelties, could have hindered those Accusers to accept, long before, the like Proposals urged by the *Irish* Chiefs; first, in the Year 1642, and afterwards,

O 2

in

(k) 1662.

(l) P. Walsh. Append. of his Reply to a Person of Quality.

(m) Id. ib.

(n) Borl. Hist. of the *Irish* Rebell. circa Init.

in the Year (a) 1643, to his Majesty, " That, in a free Parliament, to be called in *Ireland*, an Inquiry might be made into all notorious Murders, Breaches of Quarter, and inhuman Cruelties, committed of *either Side*, in this Rebellion; and that such as appeared *guilty* might be punished according to their Deserts?"

It is but a vain and frivolous Excuse for *declining* such Inquiry, which the Commissioners from the *Irish* Parliament then made, and which you have adopted; namely, (p) That " in the next Parliament, the chief Delinquents, or their Confederates, would be so prevalent a Faction, that they would be able, and doubtless willing, to clear *all the Popish* Party, how guilty soever, and condemn *all the Protestants*, how innocent soever." For, neither they, nor you, Sir, could have been ignorant, that his Majesty had before (q) consented to this Request of the *Irish*, that a new Parliament should be called: And what could be more impudent in either of you, than to suppose, that his Majesty would have consented to put the *Irish* in a Situation, wherein they would be both able and willing to clear *all the Papists*, how guilty soever, and to condemn *all his innocent Protestant Subjects* to the Punishment due to *their* Guilt?

Nor can it be easily conceived, what *fairer* or more *rational Course* could have been taken to come at the Bottom of this, or any other national Affair, than the Inquiry of a *free* Parliament; which, it is most evident, the one then in Being in *Ireland*, was *not*: Nor could it, surely, be expected, that the *Irish* would have submitted their Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes to the Decision of *that* (r) Parliament, which

(a) See Borl. Hist. of the Ir. Rebel. and Append.

(p) See Answ. p. 177.

() See Temple and Borlase Hist. of the Irish Rebel.

(r) The following short sketch of the characters of the then chief

which was mostly, if not intirely, composed of their bitterest (s) Enemies, who had already prejudged and condemned them; and who had conspired, though not so openly, with that in *England*, against the King himself. (t)

But you tell us, (u) "that, had his Majesty been jealous of any such Conspiracy or Combination, between the Parliament then in *Ireland*, and the *British* Parliament, he would, with one Scratch of his Pen, have put an End to the Existence of the former." And do not you know, Sir, that his Majesty, in a Letter of the 2d of *July*, 1643, to the then Lords Justices, and the Marquis of *Ormonde*, already mentioned, had sufficiently declared his Intention to put an End to

O 3

the governors of Ireland, will help to put this matter in a true light. "Sir William Parsons, the first in commission, and the most active in the exercise of the government,—imbibed early Puritanical sentiments:—He was the most obnoxious person that could be found out, to be made a lord justice; unacceptable to the nation in general, and odious to the Irish in particular, who had been aggrieved by the Plantations:—He was made lord justice, not by the confidence which his Majesty reposed in him, but by the favour of the English Parliament, and their friends in the privy council. He saw no body could have any considerable dignity, or place of trust, but who was recommended, or approved by them; and this consideration, joined to his Agreement with them in Puritannical Principles, &c. engaged him to devote himself to their Service, and to follow their Instructions, without regard to his own duty, his master's honour, or the good of the kingdom.

"Sir John Borlase had, in Holland, entertained the principles of the Calvinists, but had none of their turbulent spirit. — When he was made lord justice, he gave himself very little trouble about the exercise of his authority, leaving all to the management of his colleague, Sir William Parsons, who, being of an impatient, assuming temper, was willing enough to ease him of the burden: so the government of these two lords justices in Ireland, passed much like the consulship of Cæsar and Bubulus." Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I. fol. 190, 1, 2.

(s) In April, 1644, "There was no Papist in either house, (of the Irish parliament) except one in the lords house." Marquis of Ormonde's Let. Carte's Collect, f. 287.

(t) See Note (y) p. 150.

(u) Answer,

the Existence of that Parliament, after the Cessation had taken Place, as, at the Time, that this Inquiry was proposed by the *Irish*, it actually had? Does he not, in that Letter, desire their Lordships (w) “to assure those *Irish*, who had taken “Arms against him, That he was graciously inclined to *dissolve* the present Parliament, and to call “a new one, between that and the roth of November ensuing; and to take a Course to put “all those, that should be chosen Members of “said Parliament, into such a Condition as they “should not be prejudiced in their Liberty of assenting, sitting, and voting in the said Parliament?”

This, Sir, as I have already told you, was the Point principally aimed at by the *Irish*, in all their Addresses to his Majesty; and which, you see, his Majesty was then graciously inclined to grant them: An evident Proof, that he thought them, in the main, not ill-affected to his Person and Government, however they were unhappily driven, (x) “by the Tyranny that was over them,” into this Rebellion. But it is manifest enough, that neither these Lords Justices, nor the Parliament then in Being in *Ireland*, regarded this Letter of his Majesty, any more than they would have done a Scratch of your Pen, or mine; or any more than the then Parliament of *England* would have regarded it.

That this (y) *Irish* Parliament was in strict League, and acted in perfect Concert, with that in *England*; and that, they both conspired to thwart all those Measures,

(w) Borl. Hist. of the Irish Rebel.

(x) O Connolly's Examination.

(y) This house of Commons, so early as August 1642, “was, (says Mr. Care) “composed almost intirely of Puritans; and the “creatures, or dependents of the lords justices.” Life of the D. of Ormonde, Vol. I, f. 372.

Measures, which were thought conducive to his Majesty's Interest in both Kingdoms, appears from this, among many other well-known Circumstances; That, although his Majesty found it absolutely necessary, for the bettering of his Affairs in *England* and *Scotland*, to make a Peace with these *Irish* (to which the Cessation already mentioned was a Preliminary :) Yet this (z) *Irish* Parliament sent a Committee of their own Body into *England* (in Opposition to the Catholic Agents then at *Oxford* soliciting that Peace) charged with such cruel, and impudent, Propositions, that the Committee of Lords and Gentlemen for *Irish* Affairs, deputed by his Majesty, told them for Answer, (a) "That they apprehended that the said Agents of the Protestants of *Ireland* (b) DID FLATLY OPPOSE A
" PEACE,

(z) Id. see Append. — "And by the parliament then sitting in Dublin, several were authorised to present to his Majesty the grievances of his protestant subjects in *Ireland*." *Börl. Ir. Reb.* fol. 183.

(a) Id. ib. see Append.

(b) — "We are now come thus far, (says Lord Digby) in the treaty, (with the Irish agents) as that a committee appointed for that negotiation, having, with much leisure and patience, heard all sides — is now ready to make their report unto the whole matter, of which my judgment is, that, although the Irish agents should be moderate, &c. the danger and scandal for his Majesty to grant them any thing more than private promises, which I conceive he will be also chary to do, is likely to be much improved by the wild and extravagant Propositions of those that call themselves Protestant Agents. The truth of this case is; every body, that is faithful to the king's interests, apprehend the necessity of a Peace, both for the Preservation of the Protestants of *Ireland*, and the Support of our Affairs here; but every body also is seeking, &c. to cast off the counsel of granting any thing at all to the Irish on his neighbour." Lord Digby, to the E. of Ormonde. *Carte's Collect.* fol. 298.

E. of Ormonde's Answer to Lord Digby.

— "If the question be, whether the Protestants esteemed, and interested in this kingdom, would chuse a war, rather than a peace, without they might have all those propositions (of the agents) assented unto, as they are proposed; I am able to say, that all I ever spoke with concerning them, &c. answer negatively: And some are of opinion, that if we were as absolute Conquerors

“PEACE, which the King’s Necessity did enforce.”—
 Than which Opposition Nothing could be more
 favourable to the Designs of that rebellious *English*
 Parliament; which, as I have already shewn you,
 not only (c) published a Declaration against the
 Cessation, when they heard it was on Foot, but al-
 so persisted resolutely to have his Majesty disclaim it,
 after they *knew* it was concluded.

Now, Sir, if it should be asked; wherefore these
 Proposals for an *Enquiry*, so often pressed, and sol-
 licited for by the *Irish*, have been thus always re-
 jected, or evaded, by their Accusers? Your own
 honest and loyal *Peter Walsh* will answer, that (d)
 “there is no Man of Reason but understands it
 “was, because the *Irish* Nation, &c. were not
 “guilty of those barbarous and inhuman Crimes;
 “notwithstanding any other Guilt that might be
 “justly charged upon them; and that those, who
 “charged them so exorbitantly, found themselves, or
 “those of their Party more tru’y chargeable, with
 “more numerous, and more barbarous and inhuman
 “Crimes and Murders committed on the Stage of
 “IRELAND; whereon they had acted, (and yet but
 “partly,) their own proper Guilt: For, many of
 “them acted it on that of *Great-Britain* too,
 “even the most horrid Guilt imaginable, by the
 “most bloody and most execrable Murder, and in
 “the most unheard-of, and most hideous Manner,
 “of the best and most innocent of Kings!”

I need

“of the *Irish*, as any people can be imagined to be over another, it
 “would hardly be fit, (and perhaps not Wisdom, the present State
 “of England weighed) to impose upon them, what by those Pro-
 “positions (taking them altogether) is desired. It is therefore, with
 “great reason, that the Proposers of such Conditions to the accept-
 “ance of a people possessed of good towns, and store of arms and
 “ammunition, are esteemed unwilling to have any Peace, or very
 “unknowing how to propose for it.” *Carte’s Collect.* fol. 316.

(c) Borl. Irish Rebel.

(d) Reply to a Person of Quality, p. 111.

I need not acquaint you, that it was chiefly on Account of these unjust Imputations of Murder, that the *Confederate Catholics* (a very few excepted) were totally debarred those Benefits and Concessions, which were stipulated for them, by the Peace of 1648.-----How perfidiously these *People* were dealt with, on that memorable Occasion, I shall not now enquire : But, because you have stolen into your *Answer* some Part of that wretched Sophistry, which was formerly made Use of by Lord Orrery, to vindicate this Breach of public Faith, I refer the Reader to *Peter Walsh's Reply* to that Lord, addressed to the Duke of Ormonde himself, for a particular, full, and decisive Solution of it.

I shall only observe here, to the great Honour indeed of this your favourite *Papish* Author, that in a former printed Letter of his to that Duke, he had the Virtue and the Courage to point out the Judgments of God on *Saul* and his Children, for such another Breach of public Faith ; “ that
 “ (e) his Majesty,” says he, “ might be mind-
 “ ed of that Example, as of an *Antidote* against
 “ the Poison of such viperous Counsellors as that
 “ (f) Person of Quality and his Consorts that
 “ with so much Importunity, *so much Falsity*, and
 “ such other evil Arguments, did then solicit for
 “ the perpetual Destruction of all *Irish Catholics*,
 “ that is to say, of more than a *Million* of *Peo-*
 “ *ple*, without Regard to their Articles, or public
 “ Faith, given with so much Solemnity by two Great
 “ and Good Kings, and upon Considerations so valu-
 “ able, as the World knows ; nay, that did, and do
 “ at this very present, (1664) solicit this De-
 “ struction, to involve even those of that Nation
 “ and

(e) See that Letter prefixed to his Reply to a Person of Quality.
 (f) Orrery.

“ and Religion, who are *confessedly* innocent of
 “ the Rebellion or Prosecution of it, or any Breach
 “ of Articles or Peace.”

It will not be denied, even by you, that, after the Conclusion of this Peace, several Thousands of the *Irish* Catholics constantly fought his Majesty's Battles against the Usurpers in *Ireland*; (g)
 “ therein lost their Blood and Fortunes, and never
 “ submitted to their Authority, until they were
 “ over-powered, and forced thereto;---that, when
 “ they could not resist any longer, many Thou-
 “ sands of them followed King *Charles* the Se-
 “ cond's Fortunes in foreign Parts, and there en-
 “ listed under his Ensigns; and that even such as
 “ staid at Home, never made any Conditions with
 “ the Usurpers, until they were licensed thereto
 “ by his Majesty.”

And this, Sir, is another Proof of such *disinterested* Loya'ty in these *Irish* Catholics, as the most sanguine of their *Accusers* were never able to produce for themselves!---What Sort of Requital they met with from his Majesty, after his Restoration, is notorious enough; and may be learned, even from the Confession of one of their most implacable Enemies, *Roger*, first Earl of *Orrery*, before mentioned, who, in his Letter to the Duke of *Ormonde*, in the Year 1665, (after mentioning an horrid Conspiracy then formed and designed to be executed on one Day, in all the three Kingdoms, by the Fanatics, his Lordship's former Friends, and Fellow-sticklers for the good old Cause) tells his Grace, (h) “ that he
 “ had brought over Captain *Taylor*, one of these
 “ Conspirators, to make Discoveries to him;” and
 “ adds,---“ I did, as well as I could, lay open to
 “ him the *inexpressible* Mercy of his Majesty to
 “ that

(g) Id. *ibid.*

(h) E. of *Orrery's* State Letters, Vol. II.

“ that *vile Party* he had engaged himself with,
 “ not only pardoning to them their *past Crimes* ;
 “ but also giving them the *Lands of many, who*
 “ had served under his *Royal Ensigns* abroad, to
 “ pay the Arrears which had been contracted a-
 “ gainst his *Service at Home.*” Such, in those
 Days, Mr. Harris, were the Rewards of Loyalty,
 and the Punishment of Rebellion, in *Ireland.*

I am now come to that Part of your Book,
 wherein you have *seriously* undertaken to answer,
 and account for, three of the most *ridiculous* and
incredible Passages, that can be found in *Temple*,
 or any other Legend.

The Author of the DIALOGUE, in Order to
 give a brief Specimen of those false and absurd
 Depositions, on the Faith of which these Rebels
 have been charged with committing horrid and
 numberless Cruelties ; has pointed out three of them
 in particular, sworn by pretended *Eye-witnesses* :
 In the *first* of which it is set forth, (i) “ That a
 “ Proctor to a Minister, although he was diversely
 “ wounded, his Body ript up, and *his Entrails*
 “ taken out and left above a Yard from him, bled not
 “ at all, untill they lifted him up, and carried him
 “ away.”---In the *second*, (k) “ That an *Irish Re-*
 “ bel thrust thrice with his Sword at a young Wo-
 “ mans naked Body, and yet never pierced her Skin.”
 ---And in the *third*, (l) “ That Hundreds of the
 “ Ghosts of murdered *Protestants* were seen at
 “ Portnadown-bridge, and heard to cry out for Re-
 “ venge on the *Irish Rebels.*”

As for the *first* of these Depositions, (m) you
 have yourself, unwittingly, confessed the Falsity of
 it: For you say, “ that *this Eye-witness* might
 “ have

(i) *Templ. Hist. of the Irish Rebel.* p. 88.

(k) *Ibid.* p. 124.

(l) *Templ. Hist. &c.* p. 125.

(m) *Answer,* p. 194.

“ have been hindered, by the *Interposition* of the
 “ *Rebels*, from exactly *observing* the *Fact*; and
 “ might have taken what he said” (by your Leave,
 Sir, what he *swore*) “ from the *Reports* of the
 “ *Rebels* themselves.” But what a weak and vile
 Attempt is this, to impose on the Credulity of the
 Reader! Is it not expressly *sworn* by this Depo-
 nent, that, “ being an *Eye-witness*, in this Case,
 “ he *much wondered*?”

Next, in Order to prove that your second *Eye-
 witness* was not *perjured*, in the young Woman’s
 Case; you have generously offered the Author
 of the DIALOGUE his Choice of two Answers of
 very different Kinds: The first is in a high Strain
 of *Piety*, and a Supposition of Nothing less than an
 actual *Miracle* wrought upon this young Woman;
 for you say (n) “ as she put herself under the Pro-
 “ tection of God only, she might as well be pre-
 “ served by his infinite Power, as *Shadrach, Me-
 “ sack* and *Abednego*, were preserved in the fiery
 “ *Furnace*.”---Your other Answer is in the *opposite
 Extreme*, and conveys an Idea to the Mind,
 that is *downright obscene*: For you ask him, (o)
 ---What would he have to say, “ if you told him
 “ that this Rebel was a bad Fencer, and the Vir-
 “ gin, by great Activity, *eluded his Thrusts*?”---
 On this Occasion, I recollect, and will tell you, the
 Story of a Sacristan to a *Romish* Church abroad;
 who, on a certain Festival, having placed a lighted
 Taper under each of the Pictures of several Saints,
 fixed two, with great Ceremony, under that of St.
Michael the Arch-angel, who is generally painted
 trampling on the Devil. Upon his being asked the
 Reason of his giving that Preference to the Picture
 of St. *Michael*, above the Rest, he observed to the

En-

(r) Ibid.

(o) Ibid.

Enquirer, that two Persons, of very opposite Interests and Powers, were represented in that Piece; from *one* of whom he had as much to *fear*, as he had to *hope* from the *other*: He therefore thought it the most prudent Course, by paying them equal Honours, to endeavour to make his Party good with *both*.---As vainly, nor yet less impiously, have you, Sir, endeavoured to move both *Heaven and Hell* in your *Favour* in the present Exigency.

Flectere si nequis SUPEROS, ACHERONTA movebis.

VIRG.

(p) You cannot, it seems, “*be Sceptic enough to disbelieve the third incredible Passage of the Apparition of Hundreds of the Ghosts of murdered Protestants, crying out for REVENGE on the Irish Rebels; or to doubt the Veracity of what so many Ear and Eye-witnesses swear.*”---It would be as idle in me, Mr. *Harris*, to waste Time in exposing these Fables, as it was in you to pretend to believe and support them: But, since you say you *cannot doubt* of the Apparition of these Spirits, give me leave to ask your Opinion of their Kind and Quality; as, whether you think they were *good or evil Spirits*?---The former they certainly could not have been, on Account of their furious and diabolical Instigation to Revenge; and if they were the latter, what a terrible Wound have you, Sir, given your own Cause, by mentioning, on the Oaths of Ear and Eye-witnesses, such Prompters and Encouragers to the Prosecution of it!

Take Notice, by the Way, that I do not deny, or doubt, but that many Hundreds of those, who were *sworn* to have been murdered by the *Irish*

P

Rebels,

Rebels, might have afterwards *appeared* at *Port-nadown*, or any where else: But these were not the Ghosts of Persons murdered, *but the real and identical Persons themselves*; some of whom the (q) Earl of *Castlehaven* knew to be living forty Years *after*.---But this Business of Swearing, on such Occasions, may be somewhat illustrated by the following Passage, taken from the epistolary Memoirs of a Right Honourable Friend of your Cause, the Earl of *Anglesey*, and addressed to the learned Doctor *Pett*.

“ Your weighty Reasons,” says his Lordship,
 “ of the *Incredibility* of any Thing sworn being
 “ to be much regarded in the Depositions of the
 “ *most credible* Persons, inclined me to a necessary
 “ Caution and Fear, as to the Truth of those Oaths
 “ assertory, when both *incredible Persons* swearing,
 “ and *incredible Things* sworn, were in the Case.
 “ I was, therefore, without any Fear, as I may say,
 “ an *Athanasius* against the World of our three
 “ Estates, when I did, as you mention, publickly
 “ give my Vote, that there was no such (r) *Irish*
 “ Plot as was sworn by the *Witnesses*. And what
 “ my Sense was of any *Irish* or *English Papist’s*
 “ Plot, I shall not here take Occasion to express:
 “ But yet, as to some Persons convicted of the
 “ *Popish Plot* in *England*, upon the Oaths of Wit-
 “ nesses, who appeared in the Eye of the Law,
 “ then, *probi et legales Homines*, I was so fearful
 “ of the *Defects* of some *Witnesses* and their Sayings,
 “ that I being then *Lord Privy-Seal*, interceded
 “ as earnestly as I could with the King, my Mas-
 “ ter, to grant his Pardon, particularly in the Case
 “ of Mr. *Langborne*, and the titular Archbishop
 “ *Plunkett*; and was as active as any in the House
 “ of Lords, in exploding the infamous Accusation
 “ of

(q) See his Memoirs.

(r) Oates’s Plot 1678-9.

“ of the most virtuous then Queen Consort. And
 “ though, in the unfortunate Lord *Stafford's* Case,
 “ I, going *secundum allegata et probata*, gave my
 “ Judgment *as I did*; yet his late Majesty did
 “ publicly acknowledge, that I was an *importu-*
 “ *nate Solicitor* with him for his Lordship's Par-
 “ don, as well as for the Pardon of *Langborne* and
 “ *Plunkett*, above-mentioned.”

Here, Sir, is a just Observation of the Incredi-
 bility of some Oaths, exemplified on an Occasion,
 which is, in many Respects, similiar to that of our
 present Debate; and made by Persons, to whom
 you can have no Manner of Objection. Let us,
 therefore, by a word, or two, try the Depositions in (s)
Temple, and his Copier *Borlase*, by this Touch-stone
 of Lord *Anglesey* and Doctor *Pett*.---And first, Sir, are
 the Matters, sworn in these Depositions, *credib'e*?
 ---So far from it; that you yourself are forced to
 have Recourse to a *Miracle*, to save some of them
 from appearing *incredib'e and absurd*!---Secondly,
 Were the *Persons* swearing *credib'e*?---They were,
 many of them, weak *Women*, and ILLITERATE
Men; not capable of reading, (t) or subscribing, their
 own Depositions, and therefore apt to be imposed

P 2

upon,

(s) “ That *Temple* was leagued with the then lords justices, and
 “ council of Ireland, and the rebels in England, in the scheme of
 “ extirpation of the Irish popish natives, and therefore, that he la-
 “ boured all he could to stain them with the infamy of having shed
 “ so much blood of the English, and protestants, appears manifestly
 “ from many facts.” I shall here only mention an extract of a
 charge made against him, Sir William Parsons, Sir Adam Loftus,
 and others of that faction in the Irish privy council, about the year
 1643, whereby it appears, that he wickedly slandered the king him-
 self on the head of this rebellion.

“ That the said Sir John Temple, did in the month of May last,
 “ and June instant, write two traytorous and scandalous letters a-
 “ gainst his Majesty, &c. which letters have been since read, at the
 “ close Committee, and use made of them to cast false aspersions
 “ upon your majesty, as fomenting, and favouring the rebels in Ire-
 “ land. Carte's Collect. p. 207. See Appendix.

(t) Many of them have only set their marks to their depositions.
 See Temple's and Borl. Hist. of the Irish Rebell.

upon, and deceived, by *those who read to them*. A great Number of them swore on mere *Hearsay*: Some of them, *afterwards*, touched by Remorse, solemnly declared the Contrary of what they had sworn: And they were all, at the Time of making these Depositions, either *interested*, or *malicious*, Enemies to those against whom they made them.

Accordingly, “ (u) at the Tryal of *Qualifications*,
 “ at *Athlone*, where the Book, called the **BLACK-BOOK**, which contained these (w) Examinations,
 “ was produced; the same was so falsified, in
 “ most Particulars, as well by the Witnesses
 “ themselves, who were pretended to have been
 “ *duely sworn*, as also BY THE PERSONS SAYED TO
 “ HAVE BEEN MURDERED, who were then, and
 “ are yet (says my Author, 1662) *living*; that
 “ the said BOOK was for Shame laid aside as NO
 “ EVIDENCE. And several Persons, who had taken
 “ Examinations touching these Murders, have
 “ frequently since acknowledged the *Falsity* of
 “ the Matters published by them, as being had
 “ from the Information of those, who, by the
 “ *Hurry of the Times, and their own Frights*,
 “ *were so transported*, that they swore all their
 “ Neighbours, whom they left behind them,
 “ *were murdered*: Whereas *all*, or *most* of them,
 “ were afterwards *found living*.”

Mistakes, not unlike to those last mentioned, and occasioned by a *Panic* at the Castle of *Dublin* in the Beginning of this Rebellion, are related by *Temple* himself: Which, because they were not Mistakes of the Vulgar only; such as, probably, those in the former Case were, but of Persons of Rank and Quality,

(u) Collect. of Massacres and Murders, committed on the Irish,

(w) The same, no doubt, that have been since published by *Temple* and *Borlase*; and the choicest of that large collection of Examinations in the College Library before-mentioned, and boasted of, by *Harris*.

Quality, I will here insert the Passage at large, in that Writer's own Words.

“ And it added,” (x) says he, “ most extremely
 “ to those present Fears, that several unhappy Ru-
 “ mours (the great Tormenters of the weaker Sex)
 “ were vainly spread abroad, of the sudden Ap-
 “ proach of great Numbers of Rebels out of the
 “ adjacent *Irish* Counties, unto the City. Some
 “ would *make us believe*, that they were discerned
 “ at some Distance *already marching down from the*
 “ *Mountain Side*, within View of the Town; a
 “ Report so credibly delivered by those *who pretended*
 “ *to be EYE-WITNESSES*, that it drew SOME OF THE
 “ STATE up to the Platform of the Castle, *to behold*
 “ those who were yet *invisible*; though there were
 “ there *that would not be persuaded but that THEY*
 “ *SAW the very Motions of the Men*, as they marched
 “ down the Mountains. It was at the same Time
 “ also generally noised abroad, that there were ten
 “ thousand of the Rebels gotten together in a Body
 “ at the Hill of *Taragh*, a Place not above sixteen
 “ Miles distant from the Town; and that they in-
 “ tended, without any Further Delay, to march on,
 “ and presently surprize the same. These false Ru-
 “ mours being unluckily spread, and by some fo-
 “ mented out of evil Ends, exceedingly increased
 “ the present Distractions of the People, and raised
 “ such a *panic Fear among them*, as about seven of
 “ the Clock at Night, the Lords Justices and some
 “ of the Council being then in the Council-Cham-
 “ ber within the Castle, there came into them a *Gen-*
 “ *tleman of Quality*, who, having, not without much
 “ Difficulty, as he pretended, recovered the Gate
 “ of the Castle, caused the Warders then attend-
 “ ing to draw up the Bridge; assuring them that
 “ *the Rebels gathered together in great Numbers, had*
 “ *already*

“ already possessed themselves of a good Part of the
 “ Town, and came now, with great Fury, marching
 “ down the Street that leads directly towards the Castle-
 “ gate: But this Fear was quickly removed by Sir
 “ Francis Willoughby, who, being that Day made
 “ Governor of the Castle, caused the Draw-bridge
 “ to be let down, and so found this to be a *false Alarm*,
 “ occasioned by some Mistake fallen among the
 “ People, who continued waving up and down the
 “ Streets, prepossessed with *strange Fears*; and some
 “ of them, upon some slender Accident, drawing
 “ their Swords; others, that knew not the Cause,
 “ thought fit to follow the Example, and so *came*
 “ to appear to this Gentleman, who was none of their
 “ Company, as so many Rebels coming up to enter
 “ the Castle.”

I shall conclude this LETTER by observing, that
 the Author of the DIALOGUE has this singular Ad-
 vantage, among many others, over you in this Con-
 troversy; That his Proofs, in extenuating the Cruel-
 ties imputed to the *Irish* in this Rebellion, are either
 taken from, or supported by, the Testimonies of
 many of their principal *Adversaries*: Whereas you
 have not produced a single approved Writer, of their
 Side, to justify your monstrous Charge of Massacres
 against them; or any other Evidence, but what has
 been picked up from the partial Narrations, and
 manifest Perjuries, of their *Accusers* themselves.
 The only (y) Writer of theirs, whom you have quo-
 ted on the Subject of these Cruelties, is confessed
 by (z) yourself to have been so much disapproved
 by them, that his Book was condemned by their su-
 preme Council at *Kilkenny*, in the Year 1648, to
 be publickly burned; and the Priest, in whose Cus-
 tody it was found, with great Difficulty escaped
 Punishment: And, even though that Council had
 not

(y) O Mahony.

(z) Answer,

not given such a signal, or indeed, any Proof of their disavowing and disclaiming that Book, you could not possibly have made any other use of it, but to shew, that one *Popish incendiary* Writer, living at *Lisbon*, during the whole Time of this Rebellion, has related, upon mere *Hearsay*, that in the first four Years of it, the same Number of *English* were cut off by the *Irish*, in Battle, or otherwise ; which *Temple*, and his numerous Followers, have impudently asserted to have been massacred in cold Blood, in the first two Months of it only !

of a...
which...
in this...
had no need to call in...
going Letter.

You have ungenerously robbed King Charles of a Honour that is undoubtedly due to his Majesty, that of having written the *Black Book*, one of the finest Tracts that perhaps has ever appeared in English, or any other modern Language. I am, I suppose, for the present, that his Majesty was not the Author of it ; and that it was the Work of Doctor Gaudin (as you pretend from that Inhabitant of *Poland*, who strive to vilify and explode the sacred Scriptures themselves) (6) a co-temporary of the, and Government ; will not such a Writer's Testimony drive you stronger, and more convinced against *Parliament* Justice, as *Payson* and *Bar* the most certainly were, than even his Majesty would have been, who may be truly said to have been an adverse Party in this Dispute.

But it is plain from the Memorandum of the *First of July*, which (1) you say great Streets up-
T. Q. P. M. J. had printed that Book, and
that
(1) See the Letter on this subject, in the Library of O. S. B.
(2) See *Temple's Irish History*.
(3) *London*.

P O S T S C R I P T.

I Cannot intirely take leave of you, without letting you see, by a Word, or two more for what frivolous Reasons you have rejected three eminent Protestant Writers, quoted in the DIALOGUE, (viz. K. Charles 1st. Mr. Howel, and Dr. Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore,) who are *point blank* against you; and whose Authority ought to be looked upon as decisive in this Controversy.---Whom yet, you find, I have had no need to call in to my Assistance in the foregoing Letter.

You have ungenerously robbed King *Charles* 1st. of an Honour that is undoubtedly due to his Memory; that of having written the *Eikon Basilice*, one of the finest Pieces that, perhaps, has ever appeared in *English*, or any other modern Language.---But, suppose, for the present, that his Majesty was not the Author of it; and that it was the Work of Doctor *Gauden* (as you pretend from that Infidel (a) *Toland*, who strove to villify and explode the sacred Scriptures themselves) (b) a co-temporary *Puritan*, and *Covenanter*; will not such a Writer's Testimony prove yet stronger, and more convincing, against Puritan Lords Justices, as *Parsons* and *Borlase* most certainly were, than even his Majesty's would have been, who may be truly said to have been an adverse Party in this Dispute?

But it is plain, from the Memorandum of the Earl of *Anglesey*, which (c) you lay great Stresses upon, that his Majesty had perused that Book, and that,

(a) See Mr. Hume, on this subject, in his History of Great Britain.

(b) See Harris's Irish Writers,

(c) Answer.

that, it was written for his Service: For you confess that in the manuscript Copy of it, which that Earl shewed to King *Charles* 2d. and the Duke of *York*, there were some Corrections and Alterations, written with King *Charles* 1st's own Hand; and it appears, from *Walker*, that it was owned as a Seasonable and ACCEPTABLE SERVICE; and, from *Burnet*, that it was so much liked, that, notwithstanding Doctor *Sheldon*'s and other Bishops Opposition, Doctor *Gauden* got a Bishoprick for it: and can there be a stronger Proof of the Truth and Authenticity of its Contents, and, in particular, of their Majesties *Charles* 1st. and 2d's. Approbation of them, than that which you have now furnished me with?

The only proper Question, Sir, between the Author of the *DIALOGUE* and you, on this Occasion is, whether the Contents of that Book are true? not whether King *Charles* 1st, or any other Person, was the Author of it?---In short, that Doctor *Gauden* might have been employed in digesting, and copying these Lucubrations, after his Majesty had supplied him with the written Materials for them, is possible enough; but this Copy of the Doctor's was afterwards, you see, revised, corrected, and altered, by his Majesty himself; and Doctor *Gauden*'s having acted even that Under-part, in so Important, and necessary, a Business, was justly thought a Seasonable and Acceptable Service, and rewarded as such.

The Authority of Mr. *Howel*, Historiographer to King *Charles* 1st, you have confidently set at Nought; branding him, though a much better Writer than yourself, with the Name of Scribler. And wherefore? For no other Reason in the World, but because *Anthony Wood* (who on another Occasion, was banished the University of *Oxford*, as a Libeller) had the Petulence to do so before you; and because such a Testimony as Mr. *Howell*'s in Favour

Favour of the *Irish*, if allowed its due Credit, would have quite disconcerted the Scheme of your Answer: Though, when *your* evil Purpose is to be served, the flagrant Perjuries in *Temple* and *Borlase*, and the silly Surmises of the Author of an anonymous Book, entitled, *Foxes and Firebrands*, are impudently obtruded upon us, as so many Oracles.

As for the REMONSTRANCE of the Gentry and Commonality of the County of *Cavan*, written by *Bishop Bedell*, and pathetically setting forth their Grievances in common with those of the other Catholics of *Ireland*, previous to this Rebellion, (*d*) you say, “ That though you believe it to be drawn up by
“ that Prelate, yet his Lordship, being at that Time
“ in the Power of the Rebels, was obliged to do
“ whatever they commanded him.” Which is saying, in other Words, that this Great Bishop, so renowned for Saintity, Zeal, and his Sufferings in the *Protestant* Cause, did so wickedly temporize on that Occasion, as to represent to the Government, and to all Mankind, this most Unnatural, Barbarous, and execrable Rebellion (as you would have it deemed) in a most (*e*) favourable, and excusatory Light.

But, is it natural, Sir, to believe, that any Person, who could have been compelled by Fear, to draw up a false Remonstrance, contrary to his Duty both to God and his Country, would not have been also provoked, by such cruel Treatment, as *Burnet* and you inform us *Bishop Bedell* afterwards met with from these Rebels, to take the first Opportunity of declaring to all the World, in what Manner he had been obliged to publish such Falshoods? And yet we do not find that he ever did so, either by Word of Mouth, or in Writing; (*f*) although he lived from the 7th of *November* 1641, to the 7th of *February* following

(*d*) Ans. circ. fin.

(*e*) See this Remonstr. in the Append.

(*f*) See *Burnet's* Life of Bp. *Bedell*, and *Harris's* Irish Bishops.

lowing (the Day of his Death) in the House of *Dennis O Sheridan*, one of his own Clergy, whom he had brought over from the Church of *Rome*, together with his own Family, and many of his *Protestant* Friends about him, where they were never disturbed by the Rebels in the Exercise of their Worship.---Is it probable, Mr. *Harris*, that such a Prelate as Doctor *Bedell* was, pressed with the Conscioufness of so much Guilt, and favoured for so long a Time with such an Opportunity of attoning for it, would not have undeceived the World in so material an Article, sometime before his Death, which was so far from being sudden or unexpected, that he piously prepared for it in every other Respect, some Weeks before it happened?

But the Advocates of Falsehood must ever have Recourse to Falsehood for its Support; and thus because you have resolved to maintain that the Contents of this *Remonstrance* are not true, you are unhappily obliged to brand, with impious, and impenitent Hypocrisy, the Memory of that pious, learned, and venerable Bishop, who drew it up!

F A R E W E L L.

A P P E N D I X.

A P P E N D I X.

NUMBER I. *The Relation of the Lord Maguire, (concerning the Irish Rebellion,) written with his own Hand in the Tower, and delivered by him to Sir John Conyers, then Lieutenant, to present to the Lords in Parliament. From Borlase's History of the Irish Rebellion.*

BEING in *Dublin Candlemas-Term*, last was twelve Month, 1640, the Parliament then sitting, Mr. *Roger Moore* did write to me, desiring me, that if I could in that spare Time, I would come to his House, for then the Parliament did nothing but sit, and adjourn, expecting a Commission for the Continuance thereof, their former Commission being expired, and that some Things he had to say unto me, that did merely concern me, and on Receipt of his Letter, the new Commission for continuing the Parliament landed, and I did return him an Answer that I could not fulfil his Request for that present; and thereupon he himself came to Town presently after, and sending to me, I went to see him at his Lodging: And after some little Time spent in Salutations, he began to discourse of the many Afflictions and Sufferings of the Natives of that Kingdom, and particularly in those late Times of my Lord *Stratford's* Government, which gave Distaste to the whole Kingdom. And then he began to particularize the Sufferings of them that were the more antient Natives, as were the *Irish*; how that on several Plantations they were all put out of their Ancestors Estates. All which Sufferings, he said,

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did beget a general Discontent over all the whole Kingdom in both the Natives ; to wit, the Old and New *Irish*. And that if the Gentry of the Kingdom were disposed to free themselves furtherly from the like Inconvenience, and get good Conditions for themselves, for regaining their Ancestors, or at least, a good Part thereof, Estates, they could never desire a more convenient Time than that Time, the Distempers of *Scotland* being then on Foot, and did ask me what I thought of it ; I made him Answer that I could not tell what to think of it ; such Matters being altogether out of my Element. Then he would needs have an Oath of me of Secrecy ; which I gave him, and thereupon he told me that he spoke to the best Gentry of Quality in *Leinster*, and a great Part of *Connaught* touching that Matter, and he found all of them willing thereunto, if so be, they could draw to them the Gentry of *Ulster*, for which Cause, said he, I came to speak to you ; then he began to lay down to me the Case that I was in there, overwhelmed in Debt, the Smallness of my Estate, and the Greatness of the Estate my Ancestors had, and how I should be sure to get it again, or at least a good Part thereof ; and moreover how the Welfare, and maintaining the Catholic Religion, which, he said, undoubtedly the Parliament now in *England* will suppress, doth depend on it : For, said he, it is to be feared, and so much I hear from every understanding Man, the Parliament intends the utter Subversion of our Religion ; by which Persuasions he obtained my Consent. And so he demanded whether any more of *Ulster* Gentry were in Town ? I told him that *Philip Reyly*, Mr. *Tirrelagh O Neale*, Brother to Sir *Phelim O Neale*, and Mr. *Cosloe Mac Mahon* were in Town, so for that Time we parted.

The next Day he invited Mr. *Reyly* and I to dine with him, and after Dinner he sent for those other Gentlemen, Mr. *Neale*, and Mr. *Mac Mahon*, and when they were come, he began the Discourse formerly used to me, to them, and with the same Persuasions formerly used to me, he obtained their Consent. And then he began to discourse of the Manner how it ought to be done, of the Feasibility and Easiness of the Attempt, considering Matters, as they then stood in *England*, the Troubles of *Scotland*, the great Number of able Men in the Kingdom, meaning *Ireland*, what Succours they were, more then, to hope for from Abroad, and the Army then raised, all *Irishmen* and well armed, meaning the Army raised by my Lord *Strafford*, against *Scotland*. First, that every one should endeavour to draw his own Friends into that Act, and at least those that did live in one County with them; and when they had so done, they would send to the *Irish* in the *Low-Countries*, and *Spain*, to let them know of the Day, and Resolution, so that they be over with them by that Day, or soon after with a Supply of Arms and Ammunition, as they could; that there should be a set Day appointed, and every one in his own Quarters should rise out that Day, and seize on all Arms he could get in his County, and this Day to be near Winter, so that *England* could not be able to send Forces into *Ireland* before *May*, and by that Time there was no Doubt to be made, but that they themselves should be supplied by the *Irish* beyond Seas, who, he said, could not miss of Help from either *Spain*, or the *Pope*; but that his Resolutions were not in all Things allowed. For, first it was resolved nothing should be done, until first they had sent to the *Irish* over Seas to know their Advice, and what Hope of Success they could give, for in

them, as they said, all their Hope of Relief was, and they would have both their Advice and Resolution before any further Proceedings, more than to speak to, and try Gentlemen of the Kingdom, every one, as they could conveniently, to see, in Case they would at any Time grow to a Resolution, what to be, and Strength they must trust to; then Mr. *Moore* told them that it was to no Purpose to spend much Time in speaking to the Gentry. For there was no Doubt to be made of the *Irish*, that they would be ready at any Time. And that all the Doubt was in the Gentry of the *Pale*, but he said, that for his own Part, he was really assured, when they had risen out, the *Pale* Gentry would not stay long after, at least that they would not oppose them in any Thing, but be Neuters; and if in Case they did, that they had Men enough in the Kingdom without them. Moreover, he said he had spoke to a great Man, who then should be nameless, that would not fail at the appointed Day of rising out to appear, and to be seen in the Act. But that until then he was sworn not to reveal him; and that was all that was done at that Meeting, only that Mr. *Moore* should, the next *Lent* following, make a Journey down into the *North*, to know what was done there, and that he also might inform them what he had done, and so on parting, Mr. *Philip Reily*, and I, did importune Mr. *Moore* for the Knowledge of that great Man, that he spake of; and on long Intreaty, after binding us to new Secrecy, not to discover him till the Day should be appointed, he told that it was the Lord of *Mayo*, who was very powerful in Command of Men in those Parts of *Connaught* wherein he lived, and that there was no Doubt to be made of him, no more than was of himself, and so we parted.

The next *Lent* following, Mr. *Moore*, according to his Promise, came into *Ulster*, by Reason it was the Time of *Affizes* in several Counties; there he met only with Mr. *Reily*, and nothing was then done, but all Matters put off till the *May* following, where we, or most of us should meet at *Dublin*, it being both Parliament and Term-Time: In the mean Time, there landed one *Neale O Neale*, sent by the Earl of *Tyrone* out of *Spain*, to speak with the Gentry of his Name and Kindred, to let them know that he had treated with Cardinal *Richelieu* for obtaining Succour to come for *Ireland*, and that he prevailed with the Cardinal, so that he was to have Arms, Ammunition, and Money from him on Demand to come for *Ireland*, and that he only expected a convenient Time to come away, and to desire them to be in a Readiness, and to procure all others, whom they could, to be so likewise, which Message did set on the Proceedings very much so, that Mr. *Moore*, Mr. *Reily*, my Brother, and I, meeting the next *May* at *Dublin*, and the same Messenger there too: It was resolved, that he should return to the Earl into *Spain* with their Resolution, which was that they would rise out twelve or fourteen Days before or after *All-hallontide*, as they should see Cause, and that he should not fail to be with them by that Time: There was a Report at that Time, and before that the Earl of *Tyrone* was killed, which was not believed, by reason of many such Reports formerly, which we found to be false, and so the Messenger departed with Directions, that if the Earl's Death were true, he should repair into the *Low-Countries* to Colonel *Owen O Neale*, and acquaint him with his Commission from the Earl; whereof, it was thought he was not ignorant, and to return an Answer sent by him, and

to see what he would advise, or would do himself therein. But presently after his Departure, the Certainty of the Earl's Death was known, and on further Resolution it was agreed, that an Express Messenger should be sent to the Colonel to make all the Resolutions known to him, and to return speedily with his Answer. And so one *Toole Conely*, a Priest, as I think, Parish-Priest to Mr. *Moore*, was sent away to Colonel *O Neale* : In the Interim there came several Letters and News out of *England*, to *Dublin*, of *Proclamations against the Catholicks of England*, and also that the Army raised in *Ireland*, should be disbanded and conveyed into *Scotland* : And presently after, several Colonels and Captains landed, with Directions to carry away those Men ; amongst whom Colonel *Plunket*, Colonel *Bourne*, and Captain *Bryan O Neale* came, but did not all come together ; for *Plunket* landed before my coming out of Town, and the other two after, wherein a great Fear of suppressing of Religion was conceived, and especially by the Gentry of the *Pale* ; and it was very common amongst them, that it would be very inconvenient to suffer so many Men to be conveyed out of the Kingdom ; it being, as was said, very confidently reported, that the *Scottish Army* did threaten never to lay down Arms, until an Uniformity of Religion were in the three Kingdoms, and the *Catholic Religion* suppressed. And thereupon both Houses of Parliament began to oppose their going, and the Houses were divided in their Opinions ; some would have them go, others not ; but what the definitive Conclusion of the Houses was touching the Point, I cannot tell ; for by Leave from the House of Lords I departed into the Country before the Prorogation. But before my Departure I was informed by *John Barnwell*, a Fryar, that those Gentlemen of the *Pale*,
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and some other Members of the House of Commons, had several Meetings and Consultations, how they might make Stay of the Soldiers in the Kingdom, and likewise to arm them in *Defence of the King, being much injured both of England and Scotland then*, as they were informed, and to prevent any Attempt against Religion; and presently after I departed into the Country, and Mr. *Reyly*, being a Member of the House of Commons, stayed the Prorogation; and on his coming into the Country sent to me to meet him, and I came to his House, where he told me that he heard for certain, that the former Narration of *Barnwell* to me, for I did acquaint him with it, was true, and that he heard it from several there; also was *Ever Mac Mahon*, made firmly privy to all our Proceedings at Mr. *Reyly's*, lately come out of the *Pale*, where he met with the aforementioned *John Barnwell*, who told him as much; and he formerly told me, and moreover that those Colonels that lately came over, did proffer their Service and Industry in that Act, and so would raise their Men under Colour to convey them into *Spain*, and then seize on the Castle of *Dublin*, and with their Arms there to arm their Soldiers, and have them ready for any Occasion, that should be commanded them; but that they had not concluded any Thing, because they were not assured how the Gentlemen of the remote Parts of the Kingdom, and especially of *Ulster*, would stand affected to that Act, and that Assurance of that Doubt was all their Impediment. Then we three began to think, how we might assure them Help, and of the Assistance of *Ulster* Gentlemen: It was thought that one should be sent to them to acquaint them therewith, and they made Choice of me to come; by reason, as they said, that my Wife was allied to them and their Country-

try-woman, and would believe me, trust me sooner than other of their Parties, they or most of them being of the *Pale*. And so, without as much as to return Home to furnish myself for such a Journey, *volens, nolens*, they prevailed, or rather forced me to come to *Dublin* to confer with those Colonels, and that was the last *August* was Twelvemonth. Coming to Town, I met Sir *James Dillon* accidentally before I came to my Lodging, who was one of those Colonels; and after Salutations, he demanded of me where my Lodging was, which when I told him we parted; the next Day being abroad about some other Occasions in Town, I met him, as he said, coming to wait on me in my Chamber; but being a good Way from it, he desired me to go into his own Chamber, being near at Hand; and then began to discourse of the present Sufferings and Afflictions of that Kingdom, and particularly of Religion, and how they were to expect no Redress, the Parliament in England intending, and the Scots resolving never to lay down Arms untill the Catholick Religion were suppressed. Then he likewise began to lay down what Danger it would be to suffer so many able Men, as was to go with them, to depart the Kingdom in such a Time: Neither, said he, do their other Gentlemen that are Colonels and myself, affect our own private Profit, so as to prefer it before the general Good of the Kingdom: And knowing you are well affected thereunto; and I hope, said he, ready, to put your helping Hand to it upon Occasion, I will let you know the Resolution of those other Gentlemen and mine, which is, if we were ready to raise our Men, and after to seize on the Castle, where there is great Store of Arms, and arm ourselves there. *This was the first Motion that ever I heard of taking the Castle; for it never came*
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into our Thoughts formerly, nor am I persuaded ever would, if it had not proceeded from those Colonels, who were the first Motioners and Contrivers thereof, for aught known to me; and then to be ready to prevent, and resist any Danger, that the Gentlemen of the Kingdom like thereof, and help us: For we of ourselves neither are able, nor will do any Thing therein without their Assistance. I began according to the Directions that were sent with me to approve of their Resolution, and also to let him know, how sure he might be of the Assistance of those of *Uster*. Then he told us, that for my more Satisfaction, I should confer with the rest of the Colonels themselves, as many as are privy to the Action, and accordingly a Place of Meeting was appointed that Afternoon; and on the Time and Place appointed, there met Sir *James* himself, Colonel *Bourne* and Colonel *Plunket*. And that former Discourse being renewed, they began to lay down the Obstacles to that Enterprize, and how they should be redressed. 1st, If there should War ensue, how there should be Money had to pay the Soldiers. 2dly, How and where they should procure Succours from foreign Parts. 3dly, How to draw in the Pale Gentlemen. 4thly, Who should undertake to surprise the Castle, and how it should be done.

To the first, it was answered, that the Rents in the Kingdom every where, not having Respect whose they should be, due to the Lords and Gentlemen thereof, should be collected to pay the Soldiers. And moreover, they might be sure, nay, that there was no Doubt thereof, to procure Money from the Pope, who gave several Promises formerly to my Lord of *Tyrone*, in case he could make Way to come into *Ireland*, to maintain six thousand Men yearly at his own Charge; and that
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notwithstanding, that my Lord of *Tyrone* was dead, yet that he would continue the same Forwardness now.

To the second, it was answered by Colonel *Bourne*, that Help from abroad could not fail them. For, said he, Colonel *O Neale* told me, that he had, or would procure in Readiness, I do not remember which of those the Colonel spake, or whether he spoke positively that Colonel *O Neale* had Arms, or would procure them Arms for ten thousand Men. And moreover, said he, I make no great Question, that if we send into *Spain*, we shall not miss of Aid; for I being in *London* the last Year in the *Scots* Troubles, I was in Conference with one of the *Spanish* Ambassadors there then, and talking of their Troubles then a foot; he said, that if the *Irish* did then rise too, and send to *Spain*, their Messengers would be received under Canopies of Gold. These last Words he told me, and some one Man of those that were present, privately, whose Name I cannot call to mind; neither well remember I whether he spoke to them all, or no, then it was thought, that when they were both in Arms for Defence of the Catholic Cause, they would be succoured by the Catholic Princes of Christendom.

To the third, it was answered by Colonel *Plunket*, That he was as morally certain, for those were his Words, as he could be of any Thing, that the *Pale* Gentlemen would join with them, and assist them. For, he said, I have spoke to several of them since my Landing in the Kingdom, and I find them very ready and willing; and withal I have at *London* spoke to some of the Committees, and particularly to my Lord of *Gormanstown*, to let them know his resolution, and they approved it very well. All this was not done at the first Meeting, but at three or four

four Meetings : And so on the last Meeting, it was resolved to the last Doubt, touching seizing the Castle, that Colonel *Plunket* and Colonel *Bourne* should undertake that Task, because they were nearer to it than any other, and also seize on the Forts, Garrisons and other Places, where they think any Arms should be; and in particular, *Londonderry*, which should be undertaken by those of *Ulster*, and then there was a set Day appointed for the Execution thereof; that was the fifth of the ensuing *October*, this being the latter End of *August*, or the Beginning of *September*, Anno 1641. I do not know whether. And every one should make Provision to rise out that Day; and they were named, that should first succour them, that would take the Castle with Men presently, namely, Sir *James Dillon*, who did undertake to be with them within three, or at the most, four Days, with a thousand Men, and so much more should come to them out of the *North*. For these two Colonels did not intend to use above a hundred Men in the Surprisal, whereof they were to have twenty good able Gentlemen: For they made Account, that having the Castle, they, with the Artillery, would master all the Town, until they were relieved by Men from the Country: And because there was a Doubt made, how all this should be done in so short a Time, they did appoint, that all that were there present, should not fail to meet again there the 20th of *September*, to give an Account of all Things, as well Hopes as Impediments. And if on that Interview all Things should happen to be well, that they go forward, or if otherwise, to prolong the Execution of it to a more convenient Time, and so we parted, every Man into the Country about his own Task. And I in my Way home came to Mr. *Reyly's* House, and there I received

ceived a Letter from Sir *Phelim O Neale*, that his Lady was dead, and to be buried on the *Sunday* following, this being on the *Saturday*, and desiring me in all Kindness to come to the Burial; and Mr. *Reyly* having received another Letter to the same Effect, would needs have me go thither, whereunto I was unwilling, being weary, withal not provided to go to such a Meeting, as well, said he, to prevent any Jealousy from the Lady's Friends; as also, to confer with Sir *Phelim* touching all those Proceedings, for neither he nor I spoke to Sir *Phelim* concerning the Matters before, but to his Brother *Tirelagh O Neale*, and coming thither, we found Captain *Brian O Neale*, lately come out of the Low-countries, sent over by Colonel *O Neale* to speak to and provoke those of *Uster* to rise out in Arms, and that he would be with them, on Notice of their Day, the same Day, or soon after it. And it was asked of the said Captain what Aid he could send or procure, being but a private Colonel, or where he could get any. He replied, That the said Colonel told him, that he had sent to several Places that Summer to demand Aid, and in particular to Cardinal *Richelieu* into *France*, to whom he had sent twice that Year, and had comfortable, and very hopeful Promises from them, and especially from that Cardinal, on whom he thought the Colonel did most depend, so that there was no Doubt to be made of Succour from him, and especially when they had risen out, that would be a Means to the Cardinal to give Aid; we did the more credit him in regard of the former Treaty between the said Cardinal and the Earl of *Tyrone*, as formerly is said. For my own Part, I did and do believe, that the Colonel doth depend on *France* for Aid, more than on any other Place, as well for those Reasons, as also that *Ever Mac Mahon*, formerly

merly mentioned, told me, That presently after the Isle of *Rees* Enterprize, he being then in the Low-countries, did hear for certain, that the Earl of *Tyrone*, together with the Colonel did send into *France*, to the Marshal of *France*, that was General of the *French* Forces at the Isle of *Ree*, to deal with him for procuring of Aid to come then for *Ireland*, and that he received an Answer from the said Marshall, that we was most willing and ready to contribute his Endeavours for his Furtherence therein, but that he could not for the Present answer my Lord's Expectations, by Reason that the King had Wars in *Italy*, which he thought would be at an End within half a Year, or little more, and then my Lord should not doubt of any Thing, that he could do for his Assistance; but these continued a great deal longer, so for that Time that Enterprize failed. So after the Burial was done, I gave those Gentlemen Knowledge of what I had done at *Dublin*, and how I was to retire thither: and then they began to think how they should surprize *Londonderry*, they being near it, but could not then agree in the Manner; and so Sir *Phelim* desired me to take his House in my Way going to *Dublin*, and that I should have a Resolution to carry with me touching *Londonderry*, and thereon I parted home, but soon after came to *Dublin* to the fore appointed Meeting with those Colonels. But first I took in my Way Sir *Phelim* O'Neal's House, to be certain what he had done; And his Answer was, That he knew that Matter could not be put in Execution by the fifth of *October*, as was appointed, and that they would make another longer Day for it, and that he would provide for the taking of *Londonderry* by that Day, and so came to *Dublin* to give an Account of what was done, and also know what further should be done. I was not two Hours in my Lodging when Mr. *Moore* came to me, who

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knew what was done by those Colonels formerly from Colonel *Bourne*, and told me that the Messenger sent to Colonel *O Neal*, was come with an Answer, desiring us not to delay any Time in rising out, and to let him know of that Day before-hand, and that he would not fail to be with us within fourteen Days of that Day with good Aid; also desiring us by any Means to seize the Castle of *Dublin*, if we could; for he heard that there was great Provision in it for War: And Mr. *Moore* moreover said, that Time was not to be over-slipped, and desired me to be very pressing with the Colonels to go on in their Resolution; But on meeting the Colonels with them, they were fallen from their Resolution, because those of the *Pale* would do nothing therein first; but when it was done, they would not fail to assist us. Colonel *Punket* did affirm, and so by several Meetings it was resolved on by them to desist from that Enterprize for that Time, and to expect a more convenient Time: But before that their Resolution, Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and the aforesaid Captain *Bryan O Neal* followed me to *Dublin*, as they said, to assist, and advise me how to proceed with that Colonel, but neither they nor Mr. *Moor* would be seen therein themselves to those Gentlemen, but would meet me privately and know what was done at every Meeting; alledging for Excuse, That I being first employed in that Matter, it would not be expedient that they should be seen in it. And moreover, they would not be known to be in the Town but by a few of their Friends, until they were in a Manner ready to depart the Town, at least as long as I was in Town, for I left them there; but when I made them acquainted with their Determination of desisting from that Enterprize, they thought it convenient, that we should meet with Mr. *Moore* and Colonel *Bourne*, to see what was further to be done, concerning the further Intention of their own, and accordingly

cordingly we did send to them that they should meet us ; and on that Meeting, it was, where was only *Sir Phelim*, *Mr. Moor*, *Colonel Bourne*, *Captain Neal*, and myself. After long Debate, it was resolved, That we with all those that were of our Faction should go on with that Determination, that was formerly made, concluded to rise out. Moreover, to seize on the Castle, as the Colonels were purposed, for if it were not for their Project, and the Advice sent by *Colonel Neal*, we would never venture to surprize it, neither was it ever thought on in all the Meetings and Resolutions between us, before these Colonels did resolve on it, but by Reason, that the other Gentlemen that are privy to these Proceedings were not present, the Certainty of the Time and the Manner how to execute it was put off to a further Meeting in the Country, and this was resolv'd in *Dublin* on the *Sunday* at Night, being the 26th or 27th of *September*, and the Meeting was appointed on the *Saturday* following at *Mac-Collie Macmahon's* House in *Farney* in the County of *Monaghan*. And thereupon we all left the Town, only *Sir Phelim* stay'd about some other his private Occasions ; but did assure his being there at that Day ; and by Reason, that at that Meeting the Gentry of *Leinster* could not be, considering the Remoteness of the Place from them ; it was thought fit that *Mr. Moor* should there meet to receive the final Resolution, and should acquaint them therewith : And in the mean Time *Colonel Bourne*, who had undertaken for *Colonel Plunket*, should inform them of all the Intention conceived, and dispose them in Readiness against that Day that should be appointed. On *Saturday* I came to *Mr. Macmahon's* House ; there met only *Mr. Macmahon* himself, *Captain Neal*, *Ever Macmahon*, and myself, and thither that same Day came the Messenger that was sent to *Colonel Neal*,

and did report the Colonel's Answer and Advice *verbatim*, as I have formerly repeated from Mr. *Moor*; and by Reason that Sir *Phelim*, his Brother, or Mr. *Philip Reily*, that were desired to meet, did not meet; we stayed that Night to expect them, and that Night I received a Letter from Sir *Phelim*, intreating us by any Means, not to expect him until the *Monday* following; for he had, nor could dispatch some Occasions merely concerning him, but whatever became of them, he would not fail of the *Monday*. And the next Day after Receipt of the Letter, being *Sunday*, by Mr. *Moor*'s Advice, we departed from Colonel *Macmahon*'s House to prevent, as he said, the Suspicion of the *English* there, many living near to *Lough-ross* in the County of *Ardmagh* to Mr. *Torilagh O Neal*'s House not Sir *Phelim*'s Brother, but Son to Mr. *Henry O Neal* of the *Fewes*, Son-in-law to Mr. *Moor*, and left Word, that if Sir *Phelim*, or any of those Gentlemen did come in the mean Time, they should follow us thither, whither only went Mr. *Moor*, Captain *O Neale* and myself, and there we expected until the *Tuesday* subsequent before any of those did come. On the *Tuesday* came Sir *Phelim*, and *Ever Macmahon*, all the rest failing to come, Mr. *Macmahon*'s Wife was dead the Night before, which was the Cause that he was not there, but I gave his Assent to what should be concluded to therein, and execute what should be appointed him; and then we five *viz.* Sir *Phelim*, Mr. *Moor*, Captain *O Neale*, *Ever Macmahon*, and myself, assuring ourselves, that those Gentlemen absent should both allow, and join to what we should determine, did grow into a final Resolution, grounding all or most Part of our Hope and Confidence on the Succours from Colonel *O Neale*, to seize on the Castle, and rise out all in one Day, and the Day was appointed on the 23d of that Month, this being the 5th Day of *October*, having

ving regard therein to the Day of the Week, whereon that Day did fall, which was the *Saturday*, being the Market-Day, on which Day there would be less Notice taken of People up and down the Streets; then began a Question who should be deputed for the surprisal of the Castle, and then Mr. *Moor* said he would be one of them himself, and that Colonel *Bourne* should be another, and what other Gentlemen of *Leinster* they could procure to join with them, and seeing the Castle had two Gates, the one the great, the other the little Gate, going down to my Lord Lieutenant's Stables, hard by which Stables without the Castle, was the Store-house for Arms, they of *Leinster* would undertake one Gate, and that should be the little Gate, and the great Gate should be undertaken by those of *Ulster*; and, said he, of Necessity one of you both, meaning Sir *Phelim* and me, must be there, for the mere Countenance of the Matter, it being the Glory of all our Proceedings, and all that his Speech was well liked of all present: But Sir *Phelim* would be exempted from that Employment, and so would I; but then all of them set on me, desiring me to be one, alledging for Reason that their Proceedings and Resolutions were very honourable and glorious, *It being for Religion*, and for to procure more Liberty for their Country, as did, say they, of late *Scotland*, and that in taking the Castle consisted all the Glory and Honour of the said Act; all which should be attributed to them which should be employed therein, and so by Consequence all, or most part to be there, being, as they said, the chief in that Enterprize: and more, Sir *Phelim* said, that he would endeavour to take or procure others to take *Londonderry* the same Day, and if he should be away, that Place would not be taken, with these and many other Persuasions they obtained my Consent, and then the Captain offered himself: they began to
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think what Number should be employed in that Act; and they concluded on two hundred Men, one hundred from each Province, (for those States which they seize on,) of which Number Sir *Phelim O Neale* should send forty with an able sufficient Gentleman to conduct them: And likewise Captain *Neal* twenty, Mr. *Macmahone*, Mr. *Reyly* ten more, and I should bring twenty two; then began a Doubt how they should raise those Men, and convey them to *Dublin* without Suspicion; and it was answered, that under Pretence of carrying them to those Colonels that were conveying Soldiers into the Kingdom, it might safely be done; and to that Purpose Sir *Phelim O Neale*, Mr. *Moor* and the Captain had several blank Patents with Deputations to make Captains to those Colonels, which they sent to those that should send Men to *Dublin*: For the more Colour, they bethought of what was to be done in the Country that Day, and it was resolv'd, that every one privy to that Matter in every Part of the Kingdom should rise up that Day, and seize on all the Forts and Arms in the several Counties, to make all the Gentry Prisoners, the more to assure themselves against any adverse Fortune, *and not to kill any, but where of necessity they must be forced thereunto by Opposition*, and that those that were appointed for taking of the Castle should observe, and in particular the Gentry: All their Army in *Ulster* to take that Day *Londonderry*, which Sir *Phelim* did undertake, and *Knockfergus*, which they thought Sir *Henry Mac O Neale* would do; and to that end Sir *Phelim's* Brother *Torilagh O Neale* should be sent to them; and the *Newry* which should be undertaken by Sir *Connie Magennis*, and his Brothers; for whom Sir *Phelim*, in regard they were his Brothers-in-law, his deceased Lady being their Sister, did undertake. Moreover, it was agreed, that Sir *Phelim*, Mr. *Reyly*, Mr. *Coll Macmahonne*,
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and my Brother should with all the Speed they could after that Day raise all the Forces they could and follow us to *Dublin*; but to arm the Men, and succour, and attend, and garrison the Town and Castle; and likewise Mr. *Moor* should appoint *Leinster* Gentlemen to send like Supply of Men; then there was Fear of *Scots* conceived, that they should presently oppose themselves, and that would make the Matter more difficult, and to avoid which Danger, it was resolved on, not to meddle with them, or any Thing belonging to them, and to demean themselves towards them, as if they were of themselves, which they thought would pacify them from any Opposition, and if the *Scots* would not accept of that Offer of Amity, but would oppose them, they were in good Hope to cause a Stir in *Scotland* that might divert them from them; and I believe the Ground for that Hope was, that two Years before, in or about the Beginning of the *Scots* Troubles, my Lord of *Tyrone* sent one *Torilagh O Neale*, a Priest out of *Spain*; and that this, I take it, was the Time that he was in Treaty with Cardinal *Richelieu*, to my Lord of *Argyle* to treat with him for Help from my Lord, for him to come into *Ireland*, as was said for Marriage between the said Earl and my Lord of *Argyle*'s Daughter or Sister, I know not which, and this Messenger was in *Ireland* with whom Mr. *Torilagh O Neale*, Sir *Phelim*'s Brother had Conference, from whom this Relation was had, that said Messenger went into *Scotland*, as I did hear from the said Mr. *Neale*, or from *Ever Macmahone* aforementioned, I know not from which of them, but what he did there, I could never hear, by reason that my Lord of *Tyrone* was presently after killed. They were the more confirmed therein, hearing that my Lord of *Argyle* did say, near to the same Time as I guess, and when the Army was raised in *Ireland*, as I think, to a great

great Lady in *Scotland*, I know not her Name, but did hear, that she was much imbarcked in the Troubles of that Kingdom; there she questioning, how they could subsist against the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, that if the King did endeavour to stir *Ireland* against them, he would kindle such a Fire in *Ireland* as would hardly or never be quenched: And moreover, they knew my Lord to be powerful with the *Highlanders Redshanks* in *Scotland*, whom they thought would be prone, and ready to such Actions, they for the most part descended out of *Ireland*, holding the *Irish* Language and Manners still, and so we parted. The next Day being *Wednesday, Loghress*, every Man went about his own Task, and so when I came home I acquainted my Brother with all that was done, and what they had appointed him to do, and did like according as they had appointed me, send to Mr. *Reyly* to let him know as much, and the 18th of the same Month I began my Journey to *Dublin*, and when I came to *Dublin*, being the Day before the appointed Day for putting that Resolution in Execution there I met with Captain *Conne O Neal*, sent out of the *Low-Countries* by Colonel *O Neale*, who was sent after the Messenger sent by us formerly to the said Colonel was by him disappointed, with his Answer to encourage us in our Resolution, and to speedy Performance, with Assurance of Succour, which he said would not fail of the Colonel's Behalf, and for the more Certainty of Help from him, and to assure us that the Colonel had good Hopes to procure Aid from others, he said that it was he himself, that was employed from him to Cardinal *Richelieu* twice; that some Men who gave very fair Promises to assure the Colonel's Expectations, with which he said, that the said Colonel was really with himself assured of the Cardinal's Aid, and that he was likewise commanded
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by the Colonel upon our Resolution of the Day to give Notice thereof to him, and that he would be within fourteen Days over with them with Aid; but he landed nine or ten Days before, and meeting with Captain *Bryan O Neale*, who made him acquainted with what was resolved, he did write all the Matter to Colonel *O Neale*, so as he was sure of his Speedy coming: And so that Evening he and I came to meet the other Gentlemen: and there were met Mr. *Moor*, Colonel *Bourne*, Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Fox*, and other *Leinster* Gentlemen, a Captain I think of the *Bournes*, but I am not sure whether a *Bourne* or *Toole*, and Captain *Bryan O Neale*, and taking an Account of those that should have been there, it was found that Sir *Phelim O Neale*, Mr. *Coll Macmahone* did fail of sending their Men; and Colonel *Bourne* did miss Sir *Morgan Cavanagh*, that had promised him to be there, but he said he was sure he would not fail to be that Night or the next Morning in Town: And of the two hundred Men that were appointed, there were only eighty present, yet notwithstanding they were resolved to go on in their Resolution, and all the Difference was at what Time of the Day they would set on the Castle, and after some Debate, it was resolved in the Afternoon, and the rather hoping to meet the Colonel there then; for they said, if they should take the Castle, and be enforced by an Extremity for not receiving timely Succour out of the Country, having them they could not want, and so parted that Night, but to meet in the Morning to see further what was to be done, and immediately thereon I came to my Chamber, and about Nine of the Clock, Mr. *Moor* and Captain *Fox* came to me, and told me all was discovered, and that the City was in Arms, and the Gates were shut up, and so departed from me: And what became

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of them, and of the rest, I know not, nor think that they escaped, but how, and at what Time, I do not know, because I myself was taken that Morning.

NUMB. II. *The Remonstrance of the Catholics of Ireland, given at Trym 17 March 1642.*

To the KING's most excellent Majestie.

Most gracious Sovereigne,

WEE your Majestie's most dutifull and loyall subjects, the Catholiques of your Highnes Kingdome of *Ireland*, being necessitated to take armes for the preservation of our Relligion, the maintenance of your Majestie's Rights and Prerogatives, the naturall and just defence of our lives and estates, and the Liberties of our Country, have often since the beginning of these troubles attempted to present our humble complaynts unto your Royall view; but we are frustrated of our Hopes therein by the power and vigilance of our adversaryes, (the now Lords Justices and other Ministers of State in this Kingdome) who by the assistance of the malignant partie in *England* now in armes against your Royall Person, with less difficultie to attain the bad ends they proposed to themselves, of extirpateing our Religion and Nation, have hitherto debarred us of any access to your Majestie's justice, which occasioned the effusion of much innocent blood, and other mischiefes in this your Kingdome, that otherwise might well bee prevented. And whereas of late notice was sent unto us of a Commission granted by your Majestie to the right honourable the Lord Marques of *Ormond*, and others, authorizing them to heare what we shall say or propound, and the same to transmitt to your Majestie in writeing, which your Majestie's gracious and

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Princely favour, wee finde to be accompanied with these words, *viz.* (*albeit wee doe extreamly detest the odious Rebellion which the Recusants of Ireland have without ground or co'our rayfed against us, our Crowne, and Dignitie*) which words wee doe in all humilitie conceive to have proceeded from the *mif-representations of our adversaries*; and therefore doe protest, we have been therein maliciously traduced to your Majestie, haveing *never entertayned any rebellious t'ought against your Majestie, your Crowne, or Dignitie*; but allways have beene, and ever will continue your Majestie's most faithfull and loyall subjects. And doe most humbly beseech your Majestie soe to owne and avowe us; and as such we present unto your Majestie these ensueing grievances and causes of the present distempers.

Inprimis, The Catholiques of this Kingdome, whome no reward could invite, no persecution inforce to forsake that Religion professed by them and their ancestors for thirteen hundred years, or thereabouts, are since the second yeare of the reigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, made incapable of places of honour or trust, in Church or Commonwealth, their Nobles become contemptible, their Gentry debarred from learning in Universities, or public schools within this Kingdom; their younger brothers put by all manner of employment in their native Country, and necessitated either to live in ignorance and contempt at home, or (to their great discomfort, and impoverishment of the land) to seeke education and fortune abroad; misfortunes made incident to the said Catholiques of *Ireland* only, (their numbers, qualitie and loyalltie considered) of all the Nations of Christendome.

2. That by this incapacitie, which in respect of their religion was imposed upon the said Catholiques; men of *meane condition and qualitie*, for the most part,

part, were in this Kingdome, imployed in places of greatest honour and trust, who being to begin a fortune, *built it on the ruines of the Catholique Natives*, att all tymes lying open to be discountenanced and wrought uppon, and who (because they would seeme to be carefull of the Government,) did from tyme to tyme suggest false and malicious matters against them, to render them suspected and odious in *England*; from which ungrounded informations, and their many other ill offices, these mischiefes have befallen the Catholiques of *Ireland*. First, *the oppositions given to all the graces and favours that your Majestie or your late Royall Father promised or intended to the Natives of this Kingdom*. Secondly, *the procuring of false inquisitions upon faigned titles of their estates, against many hundred years possession, and no travers or petition of right admitted thereunto, and jurors denying to find such Offices were censured even to publique infamie and ruine of their estates*; the finding thereof being against their consciences and their evidences, and nothing must stand against such Offices taken of great and considerable parts of the Kingdome, but Letters Pattents under the Great Seale; and if Letters Pattents were produced, (as in most cases they were) none must be allowed valid, nor yet sought to be legally avoyded: soe that of late tymes, by the underhand workeing of Sir *William Parsons* Knight, now one of the Lords Justices heere, and the arbitrary illegal power of the two impeached Judges in Parliament, and others drawn by their advise and counsell, *one hundred and fifty Letters Patents were avoyded in one morneing*; which course continued untill all the Patents of the Kingdom to a few were by them and their associates declared void; such was the care those Ministers had of your Majestie's Greate Seale, *being the publique faith of the Kingdom*: this way of service, in
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shew only pretended for your Majestie, proved to your disservice, and the immoderate and too timely advancement of the said Ministers of State, and their adherents, and too neere the utter ruine of the said Catholiques.

3. That, whereas your Majestie's late Royall Father, King *James*, having a Princely and Fatherly care of this Kingdom, was graciously pleased, to graunt severall large and beneficiall Commissions, under the Great Seale of *England*, and severall instructions and letters under his Privie Signett, for the passing and securing of the estates of his subjects here by letters pattents under the Greate Seale, and letters pattents accordingly were thereof passed, fynes payed, old rents increased, and new rents reserved to the Crowne. And the said late King was further graciously pleased, att severall tymes to send divers honorable persons of integritie, knowledge and experience, to examine the grievances of this Kingdome, and to settle and establish a course for redress thereof. And whereas your Majestie was graciously pleased, in the fourth yeare of your raigne, to vouchsafe a favourable heareing to the grivances presented unto you, by agents from this kingdome; and thereupon did graunt many graces and favours to your subjects thereof, for securitie of their estates, and redress for remove of those heavie pressures, *under which they have long groaned*; which acts of justice and grace extended to this people by your Majestie, and your said Royall Father, did afford them great content, *yett such was, and is yett, the immortall hatred of some of the said ministers of State, and especially of the said Sir William Parsons*, the said impeached Judges and their adherents, to any welfare and happinens of this Nation, and their ambition to make themselves still greater and richer, by the totall ruine and extirpation of this people; that

under pretence of your Majestie's service, the publique faith involved in those grants was violated, and the grace and goodness intended, by two glorious Kings successively, to a faithful people, made unprofitable.

4. The illegall, arbitrary, and unlawfull proceedings of the said Sir *William Parsons*, and one of the said impeached Judges, and their adherents and instruments, in the Court of Wards, and the many wilfully erroneous decrees and Judgments of that Court, by which the heirs of Catholique Noblemen and other Catholiques were most cruelly and tyrannical'y dealt withall, destroyed in their estates, and bred in dissolution and ignorance, their parents debts unsatisfied, their Sisters and younger Brothers left wholly unprovided for, the auncient and appeareing tenures of mesne Lords unregarded, estates valid in law, and made for valuable consideration avoyded against law, and the whole land filled upp with the frequent swarms of Escheators, Feodaryes, Pursuivants, and others by authoritie of that Court.

5. The said Catholiques, notwithstanding the heavy pressures beforementioned, and other grievances, in part represented to your Majestie by the late Committees of both Houses of Parliament of this Kingdom, (whereunto they humbly desire that relation be had, and redress obtained therein,) did readily and without reluctance, or repineing, contribute to all the subsidies, loanes and other extraordinary graunts made to your Majestie in this Kingdom, since the beginning of your raigne, amounting unto well neere one million of poundes, over and above your Majestie's revenue, both certaine and casuall: and although the said Catholiques were in Parliament, and otherwise, the most forward in granting the said Sumes, and did bear nyne parts of ten in the Payments thereof, yett such was the power of their ad-

adversaries, and the advantage they gained by the opportunitie of their continuall address to your Majesty, to increase their Reputation in getting in of those moneys, and their Authoritie in the distribution thereof to your Majesty's greate disservice; that they assumed to themselves to be the procurers thereof, and *represented the said Catholiques* as obstinate and refractory.

6. The Army rayfed for your Majesty's service here at the great charge of the Kingdom was disbanded by the pressing importunitie of the malignant partie in *England*, not giving Way that your Majesty should take advice therein with the Parliament here; alledging the said Army was Popish, and therefore not to be trusted; and although the World could witness the unwarrantable and unexampled invasion made by the malignant partie of the Parliament in *England*, uppon your Majesty's Honour, Rights, Prerogatives, and principall Flowers of your Crowne; and that the said Sir *William Parsons*, Sir *Adam Loftus* Knight, your Majesty's Vice-Treasurer of this Kingdome, and others their Adherents, *did declare that an Army of ten thousand Scotts was to arrive in this Kingdome, to force the said Catholiques to change their Religion, and that Ireland could never doe well without a Rebellion, to the end the remaine of the natives thereof might be extirpated*; and wagers were laid at generall assizes and publique meetings, by some of them then, and now imployed in places of greate profit and trust in this Kingdome, *that within one yeare no Catholique should be left in Ireland*, and that they saw the ancient and unquestionable privileges of the Parliament of *Ireland* unjustly and against law enchroached uppon, by the orders, acts, and proceedings of both houses of Parliament in *England*, in sending for and questioning, to, and in that Parliament, the members of the Parliament

of this Kingdome, sitting the Parliament here; and that by speeches and orders printed by Authoritie of both howses in *England*, it was declared that *Ireland* was bound by the Statutes made in *England*, if named, which is contrary to knowen truth and the laws here settled for fowre hundred Yeares, and upwards; and that *the said Catholiques were thoroughly enforme*d of the Protestation made by both howses of Parliament of *England* against Catholiques, and of *their intentions to introduce Lawes for the extirpation of Catholique Religion in the three Kingdomes*, and that they had certain notice of the bloody Execution of Priests there, only for being Priests, and that your Majesties Mercy and Power could not prevaile with them to save the life of one condemned Priest. And that the Catholiques of *England* being of their owne Flesh and Blood, must suffer or depart the Land, and consequently others not of so neere a relation to them, *if bound by their Statutes*, and within their power. These motives, although very strong and powerfull to produce apprehensions and feares in the said Catholiques, *did not prevail with them to take defensive Armes*, much less offensive, they still expecting that your Majestie in your high wisdom might be able in a short tyme, to apply seasonable cures and apt remedies unto those evils and innovations.

7. That the Committees of the Lords and Commons of this Kingdome, having attended your Majesty for the space of nyne Months, your Majesty was graciously pleased, notwithstanding your then weightie and urgent affayrs in *England* and *Scotland*, to receive, and very often with great patience to hear their grievances, and many debates thereof at large, during which debates, the *said Lords Justices*, and some of your privy Councill of this Kingdome, and their adherents, by their *malitious and untrue informations*

formations conveyed to some Ministers of State in
England, (who since are *declared of the malignant*
partie,) and by the continuall solicitation of others
 of the said Privy Councill gone to *England* of pur-
 pose to crosse and give impediment unto the justice
 and grace your Majestie was inclined to afford to
 your subjects of this Realme, did, as much as in
 them lay, hinder the obtayning of any redress for
 the said grievances, and not prevailing therein with
 your Majestie as they expected, have by their letters,
 and instruments, laboured with many leading Mem-
 bers of the Parliament there to give stopp and in-
 terruption thereunto, and likewise transmitted unto
 your Majestie and some of the State of *England*,
 sundery misconstructions and misrepresentations of
 the proceedings and actions of your Parliament of
 this Kingdom, and thereby endeavoured to possess
 your Majesty of an evill opinion thereof; and that
 the said Parliament had no power of Judicature in
 capitall causes, (which is an essentiall part of Par-
 liament) thereby aymeing at the impunitie of some
 of them, and others who were then impeached of
 high treason, and at the destruction of this Parlia-
 ment; but the said Lords Justices and privie Coun-
 cill, observing that no art or practice of theirs could
 be powerful to withdraw your Majestie's grace and
 good intentions from this people, and that the re-
 dress graunted of some particular grievances was to
 be passed as Acts in Parliament; the said Lords Jus-
 tices and their adherents with the height of malice,
 envieing the good union long before settled, and
 continued between the Members of the Howse of
 Commons, and their good correspondence with the
 Lords, left nothing unattempted, which might
 rayse discord and disunion in the said House, and
 by some of themselves and some instruments of theirs
 in the said Commons House, private meeteings of
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great numbers of the said House were appointed, of purpose to rayse distinction of Nation and Religion, by meanes whereof a faction was made there, which tended much to the disquiet of the House, and disturbance of your Majestie's and the publique service; and *after certain knowledge* that the said Committees were by the water Side in *England with sundry important and beneficial bills, and other graces to be passed, as Acts in that Parliament, of purpose to prevent the same, the said faction, by the practise of the said Lords Justices, and some of the said Privy Councill and their Adherents, in a tumultuous and disorderly manner on the seventh day of August 1641, and on severall days before, cryed for an adjournment of the House, and being overvoted by the voices of the more moderate partie, the said Lords Justices and their Adherents told severall honourable Peers, that if they did not adjourne the Lords House on that day, being Saturday, that they would themselves prorogue or adjourne the Parliament on the next Munday following, by meanes whereof, and of great numbers of proxies of Noblemen, not estimated, nor at any tyme resident in this Kingdome, (which is destructive to the libertye and freedom of Parliaments here,) the Lords House was on the said seventh day of August adjourned, and the House of Commons by occasion thereof, and of the faction aforesaid, adjourned soone after, by which meanes those bills and graces, according to your Majestie's intention, and the great expectation and longing desires of your people could not then pass as Acts of Parliament.*

Within few dayes *after this fatal and enforced adjournment*, the said Committees arrived at *Dublin*, with their dispatch from your Majestie; and presented the same to the said Lords Justices and Councill, expressing a right sense of the said adjournment, and besought their Lordships, for the satisfaction of
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the people, to require short heads of that part of the dispatch *wherein your Majestie did appeare in the best manner unto your people*, might be suddainely conveyed unto all the parties of the Kingdome, attested by the said Lords Justices, to prevent despaire, or misunderstanding. *This was promised to be done, and an instrument drawen, and presented unto them for this purpose, and yett, (as it seemes desireing rather to add fuell to the fire of the subjects discontents than quench the same,) they did forbear to give any notice thereof to the people.*

8. After this, *certaine dangerous and pernicious petitions*, contrived by the advise and counsell of the said Sir *William Parsons*, Sir *Adam Loftus*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Knights, *Arthure Hill Esq;* and sundry others of the malignant partie, and signed by many thousands of the malignant partie in the City of *Dublin*, in the province of *Uster*, and in sundry other partes in this Kingdome, directed to the Commons House in *England*, were att publique affizes and other publique places made known and read, to many persons of Quallitie in this Kingdome, which petitions containd *matters destructive to the said Catholiques, their Religion, lives, and estates, and were the more to be feared by reason of the active power of the said Sir John Clotworthy in the Commons Howse in England in opposition to your Majestie, and his barbarous and inhumane expressions in that Howse against Catholic Religion and the professors thereof;* soone after an order conceived in the Commons House of *England*, that no Man should bowe unto the name of *Jesus*, (att the sacred sound whereof all Knees should bend) came to the knowledge of the said Catholiques, and that the said malignant partie did contrive and plott to extinguish their Religion and Nation. Hence it did arise that some of the said Catholiques begun to consider the deplorable

able and desperate condition they were in by a *Statute Law here found among the Records of this Kingdome of the second yeare of the raigne of the late Queen Elizabeth*; but never executed in her tyme, nor discovered till most of the *Members of that Parliament were dead*, no Catholique of this Kingdome could enjoy his life, estate, or lyberty if the said Statute were executed; whereunto no impediment remayned but your Majestie's Prerogative and Power, which were endeavoured to be clipped or taken away, as is before rehearsed; *then the plott of destruction by an army out of Scotland, and another of the malignant partie in England, must be executed*; the feares of those twofold destructions and their ardent desire to maintaine that just Prerogative, which might encounter and remove it, did necessitate some Catholiques in the North, about the 22d of *October 1641* to take Armes in maintenance of their Religion, your Majesty's Rights, and the preservation of life, estate, and libertie, and immediately thereuppon tooke a solemn oath, and sent severall declarations to the Lords Justices and Councill to that effect; and humbly desired they might be heard in Parliament, unto the determination whereof, they were ready to submit themselves, and their demands: which declarations being received, were slighted by the said Lords Justices, who by the swaying part of the said Councill, and by the advice of the said two impeached Judges, glad of any occasion to put off the Parliament, which by the former adjournment was to meet soone after, caused a Proclamation to be published on the 23d of the said month of *October 1641*, therein accuseing all the Catholiques of *Ireland* of disloyaltie, and thereby declareing that the Parliament was prorogued untill the 26th of *February* following.

9. Within few dayes after the said 23d day of *October 1641*, many Lords and other persons of
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ranke and qualitie made their humble address to the
 said Lords Justices and Councill, and made it evi-
 dently appeare unto them, that the said prorogation
 was against law, and humbly besought the Parlia-
 ment might sit according to the former adjournement,
 which was then the only expedient, to compose or
 remove the then growing discontents and troubles
 of the land; and the said Lords Justices and their
 partie of the Councill then well knowing that the
 Members of both Houses throughout the Kingdome,
 (a few in and about *Dublin* only excepted,) would
 stay from the meeteing of both Houses by reason of
 the said prorogation, by Proclamation two dayes
 before the tyme, gave way the Parliament might sitt,
 but so limited, that no Act of Grace, or any thing
 else for the people's quiet or satisfaction, might be
 propounded or passed. And thereupon a few of the
 Lords and Commons appeared in the Parliament
 House, who in their enterance at the Castle-bridge
 and gate, and within the yard to the Parliament
 House doore, and recess from thence, were invironed
 with a great number of armed men with their match
 lighted, and muskets presented even to the breasts
 of the Members of both Houses, none being ad-
 mitted to bring one servant to attend him, or any
 weapon about him within the Castle-bridge; yet how
 thin soever the Houses were or how much overawed,
 they both did supplicate the Lords Justices and
 Councill, that they might continue for a tyme to-
 gether, and expect the coming of the rest of both
 Houses, to the end they might quiet the troubles in
 full Parliament, and that some Acts of securitie graun-
 ted by your Majestie, and transmitted under the
 Greate Seale of *England*, might pass to settle the
 minds of your Majesties subjects. To these requests,
 soe much conducing to your Majestie's service and
 settlement of your people, a flatt denyall was given,
 and

and the said Lords Justices and their partie of the Councill, by their workeing with their partie in both Howses of Parliament, being then very thyn as afforesaid, propounded an order should be conceived in Parliament, that the said discontented Gentlemen tooke armes in rebellious manner, which was resented much by the best affected of both Howses; but being awed as afforesaid, and crediblie informed if some particular persons amongst them stood in opposition thereunto, that the said Musketeeres were directed to shoote them att their goeing out of the Parliament House, thorough which terror, way was given to that order.

10. Notwithstanding all the beforementioned provocations, pressures and indignities, the farr greater and more considerable parte of the Catholiques, and all the cytties and corporations of *Ireland*, and whole Provinces, stood quiet in their howses; whereuppon the Lords Justices and their adherents, well knowing that many powerfull Members of the Parliament of *England* stood in opposition to your Majestie, made their application, and addressed their dispatches full fraught with calumnies and false suggestions against the Catholiques of this Kingdome, and propounded unto them, to send severall great forces to conquer this Kingdome; those of the mailgnant partie here were by them armed; the Catholiques were not only denied armes; but were disarmed, even in the citty of *Dublin*, which in all succeffions of ages past continued as loyall to the Crowne of *England* as any citty or place whatsoever: all other auncient and loyall cittyes and corporatt townes of the Kingdom, (by meanes whereof principally the Kingdome was preserved in former tymes) were denied armes for their money to defend themselves, and exprefs order given by the said Lords Justices to disarme all Catholiques in some
of

of the said cittyes and townes, others disfurnished were inhibited to provide armes for their defence; and the said Lords Justices and Councill having received an order of both Houses of Parliament in *England* to publish a Proclamation of pardon unto all those who were then in Rebellion (as they termed it) in this Kingdome, if they did submitt by a day to be limited, the said Sir *William Parsons*, contrary to this order, soe wrought with his partie of the Councill, that a Proclamation was published of pardon only in two Counties, and a very short day prefixed, and therein all Freeholders were excepted; through which every man saw that the estates of the Catholiques were first ayimed att, and their lives next. The said Lords Justices and their partie having advanced their designe thus far, and not finding the success answerable to their desires, commanded Sir *Charles Coote*, Knight and Baronet deceased, to march to the County of *Wickloe*, where he burnt, killed, and destroyed all in his way in a most cruell manner, man, woman, and childe, persons that had not appeareing wills to doe hurt, nor power to execute it. Soone after some foote companies did march in the night by direction of the said Lords Justices, and their said partie to the towne of *Sauntry* in *Fingall*, three miles off *Dublin*; a Country that neither then, nor for the space of four or five hundred yeares before, did feelee what troubles were, or war meant; but it was too sweet and too near, and therefore fitt to be forced to armes. In that towne innocent husbandmen, some of them being Catholiques, and some Protestants taken for Catholiques, were murdered in their inn, and their heads carried triumphant into *Dublin*. Next morning complaint being made of this, no redress was obtayned therein; whereuppon some Gentlemen of Qualitie, and others the inhabitants of the Country, seeing
what

what was then acted, and what passed in the said last march towards the county of *Wickloe*, and justly fearing to be all murthered, forsooke their houses, and were constrayned to stand together in their owne defence, though ill provided of armes or ammunition. Heereupon a Proclamation was agreed upon at the Board on the 13th of *December* 1641, and not published or printed till the 15th of *December*, by which the said Gentlemen, and *George Kinge* by name, were required to come in by or upon the 18th of the said month, and a safetie was therein promised them. On the same Day another Proclamation was published, summoning the Lords dwelling in the *English* pale neere *Dublin* to a grand Councill on the 17th of the said month; but the Lords Justices and their partie of the Councill, to take away all hope of accommodation, gave direction to the said *Sir Charles Coote*, the said 15th day of the said month of *December*, to march to *Clontarffe*, being the house and towne of the said *George Kinge*, and two miles from *Dublin*, to pillage, burne, kill, and destroy all that there was to be found; which direction was readily and particularly observed, (in a manyfest breach of public faith) by meanes whereof the meeteing of the said Grand Councill was diverted: The Lords not dareing to come within the power of such notorious faith-breakers: the consideration whereof, and of other the matters aforesaid, made the Nobilitie and Gentry of the *English* pale, and other parts of the Province of *Leinster*, sensible of the present danger, and put themselves in the best posture they could for their naturall defence, and employed Lieutenant Collonell *Read* to present their humble Remonstrance to your sacred Majestie, and to declare unto you the state of their affayers, and humbly to beseech relief and redress; the said Lieutenant Collonell, though your Majestie's servant,

and

and imployed in publique trust, (in which case the law of Nations affords safety and protection) was without regard to either, not only stopped from proceeding in his imployment, but also tortured on the rack at *Dublin*.

11. The Lord President of *Munster*, by direction of the said Lords Justices, (that Province being quiet) with his accomplices, burnt, preyed, and put to death men, women, and children, without making any difference of qualitie, condition, age, or sex in severall parts of that Province, the Catholique Nobles and Gentlemen there mistrusted and threatened, and others of inferior quality trusted and furnished with armes and ammunition. The Province of *Connaught* was used in the like measure; whereupon most of the considerable Catholiques in both the said Provinces were inforced (without armes or ammunition) to look after safety, and to that end did stand on their defence, still expecting your Majestie's pleasure, and allways ready to obey your Commands. Now the plott of the said Ministers of State and their adherents being even ripe, applications were incessantly by them made to the malignant partie in *England*, to deprive this people of all hopes of your Majestie's justice or mercie, and to plant a perpetual enmity between the *English* and *Scotish* Nations, and your subjects of this Kingdome.

12. That whereas this your Majestie's Kingdome of *Ireland* in all successions of ages since the raigne of King *Henry* the second, sometimes King of *England* and Lord of *Ireland*, had Parliaments of their owne, composed of Lords and Commons in the same manner and forme qualified with equall liberties, powers, priviledges and immunities with the Parliament of *England*, and onely depend of the King and Crowne of *England* and *Ireland*: And for all that tyme no prevalent record or authentique

president can be found, that any statute made in
England could or did bind this Kingdome before the
 same were here established by Parliament; yet upon
 untrue suggestions and informations given of your
 subjects of *Ireland* and Act of Parliament, entituled,
An Act for the speedie and effectuall reducing the Re-
bels in his Majestie's Kingdome of Ireland to their due
obedience to his Majesty and the Crowne of England;
 and another Act, intituled, *An Act for adding unto*
and explayning the said former Act, was procured to
 be enacted in the said Parliament of *England* in the
 eighteenth yeare of your Majestie's raigne, by which
 Acts and other Proclamations your Majestie's sub-
 jects unsummoned, unheard, were declared Rebels,
 and two millions and a halfe of acres arrable, meadow,
 and profitable pasture within this Kingdome sold to
 undertakers for certain summes of monie; and the
 edifices, loghs, woodes, and bogges, wastes and o-
 ther their appurtenances, were thereby mentioned
 to be granted and past gratis. Which Acts the said
 Catholiques doe conceive to have been forced upon
 your Majestie; and although void and unjust in
 themselves to all purposes, yett containe matters of
 evill consequence, and extreame prejudice to your
 Majestie, and totally destructive to this Nation.
 The scope seemeing to aime att Rebels only and at
 the disposition of a certaine quantitie of land; but
 in effect and substance all the landes in the King-
 dome, by the words of the said Acts, may distribu-
 ted, in whose possession soever they were, without
 respect to age, condition, or qualitie; and all your
 Majestie's tenures, and the greatest part of your
 Majestie's standing Revenue in this Kingdom taken
 away? and by the said Acts, if they were of force,
 all power of pardoning and of granting those lands
 is taken from your Majestie; a president that no age
 can instance the like. Against this Act the said Ca-
 tholiques

tholiques do protest, as an Act against the fundamentall Lawes of this Kingdome, and as an Act destructive to your Majestie's Rights and Prerogatives, by collour whereof, most of the forces sent hither to infest this Kingdome by sea and land, disavowed any authoritie from your Majestie, but doe depend upon the Parliament of *England*.

13. All strangers and such as were not inhabitants of the citty of *Dublin*, being commanded by the said Lords Justices, in and since the said month of *November* 1641, to depart the said citty, were no sooner departed, than they were by the directions of the said Lords Justices pillaged abroad, and their goods seized uppon and confiscated in *Dublin*; and they desiring to returne under the protection and safetie of the State, before their appearance in action, were denied the same; and divers others persons of Rank and Qualitie, by the said Lords Justices employed in publique service, and others keeping close within their doores, without annoying any man, or siding then with any of the said Catholiques in armes, and others in severall parts of the Kingdom liveing under, and haveing the protection and safetie of the State, were sooner pillaged, their howses burnt, themselves, their tenants and servants killed and destroyed, than any other, by direction of the said Lords Justices. And by the like direction when any Commander in cheefe of the Army, promised, or gave quarter or protection, the same was in all cases violated: and many persons of Qualitie, who obtained the same, were ruined before others; others that came into *Dublin* voluntarily, and that could not be justly suspected of any crime, if *Irishmen* or Catholiques, by the like direction were pillaged in *Dublin*, robbed and pillaged abroad, and brought to their tryall for their Lives. The cittyes of *Dublin* and *Corke*, and the ancient corporatt

townes of *Drogheda*, *Yeoghal* and *Kingsale*, who voluntarily received garrisons in your Majestie's name, and the adjacent Countreyes who relieved them, were worse used, and now live in worse condition than the *Israelites* did in *Egypt*; so that it will be made appeare, that more murders, breaches of publique faith, and quarters, more destruction and desolation, more crueltie, not fitt to be named, were committed in *Ireland*, by the direction and advise of the said Lords Justices and their partie of the said Councill in less than eightene months, than can be paralleled to have been done by any Christian People.

14. The said Lords Justices and their Adherents have, against the fundamental Lawes of the lande, procured the sitting of both Howses of Parliament for severall sessions, (nyne parts of ten of the naturall and genuine Members thereof being absent, it standing not with their safety to come under their power) and made upp a considerable number in the Howse of Commons of clerkes, souldiers, serveing men, and others, not legally, or not chosen at all, or returned, and having no manner of estate within the Kingdom; in which sitting sundry orders were conceived, and dismisses obteyned of persons before impeached of treason in full Parliament, and passed or might have passed some acts against law and to prejudice of your Majestie, and this whole Nation. And dureing these troubles, Termes were kept, and your Majestie's Court of Cheefe Place, and other Courts sate at *Dublin* to no other end or purpose, but by false and illegall judgments, outlawries and other capitall proceedings to attaint many thowbands of your Majestie's most faithfull subjects of this Kingdome, they being never summoned, nor having notice of those proceedings; and Sheriffs made of obscure meane persons, by the like practice, appointed

pointed of purpose; and poore artificers, common soldiers and meniall servants, returned Jurors, to pass upon the lives and estates of those who came in upon *protection* and *publique faith*.

Therefore the said Catholiques, in the behalfe of themselves and of the whole Kingdome of *Ireland*, doe protest and declare against the said proceedings in the nature of Parliaments, and in the other courts aforesaid, and every of them, as being heynous crimes against law, destructive to Parliaments and your Majestie's Prerogatives and Authority, and the Rights and just Liberties of your most faithful subjects.

Forasmuch, dread Sovereigne, as the speedy application of apt remedies unto these grievances and heavie pressures, will tend to the settlement and improvement of your Majestie's Revenue, the prevention of further effusion of blood, the preservation of this Kingdome from desolation, and the content and satisfaction of your said subjects, who in manifestation of their duty and zeale to your Majestie's service, will be most willing and ready to imploy *ten thousand men* under the conduct of well experienced Commanders in defence of your Royal Rights and Prerogatives. They therefore most humbly beseech your Majestie, that you will vouchsafe gracious answers to these their humble and just complaynts, and for the establishment of your People in a lasting peace and securitie, the said Catholiques doe most humbly pray, that your Majestie may be further graciously pleased to call a free Parliament in this Kingdome, in such convenient tyme as your Majestie in your high wisdom shall think fitt, and the urgencie of the present affayres of the said Kingdome doth require; and that the said Parliament be held in an indifferent place, summoned by, and continued before, some person or Persons of Honour and Fortune,

of approved faith to your Majestie, and acceptable to your people here, and to be timely placed by your Majestie in this Government, which is most necessary for the Advancement of your service, and present condition of the Kingdome: in which Parliament, the said Catholiques doe humbly pray these or other their grievances may be redressed, and that in the said Parliament, a statute made in this Kingdome in the tenth yeare of King *Henry* the Seventh, commonly called *poynings's Act*, and all Acts explainning, or enlarging the same, be by a particular Act suspended during that Parliament, *as it hath beene already done in the eleventh yeare of Queene Elizabeth, upon occasions of far less moment than now doe offer themselves*; and that your Majestie, with the advice of the said Parliament, will be pleased to take a course for the further repealing, or further continuance of the said Statutes, as may best conduce to the advancement of your service here, and peace of this your Realme; and that no matter, whereof complaint is made in this Remonstrance, may debar Catholiques, or give interruption to their free votes, or sitting in the said Parliament, and as in duty bound they will ever pray for your Majestie's long and prosperous raigne over them.

Wee the undernamed being thereunto authorised, doe present and signe this Remonstrance in the behalfe of the Catholiques of *Ireland*, dated this 17th day of *March* 1642.

GORMANSTON. LUCAS DILLON.

ROBERT TALBOTT. JOHN WALSH.

According to your Majestie's Commission to us directed, we have received this Remonstrance, subscribed by the Lord Viscount *Gormanstown*, Sir *Lucas Dillon*, Knight, Sir *Robert Talbott*, Bart. and *John Walsh* Esq; authorised by, and in the behalfe of the Recusants of *Ireland*, to present the same un-

to

us to be transmitted to your sacred Majestie, dated the 17th day of *March* 1642.

CLANRICARD and St. ALBANS. ROSCOMMON.
MOORE. MAU. EUSTACE.

NUMB. III. *Sir William Cole to the Lords Justices of Ireland, from Mr. Carte's Collection of the Duke of Ormonde's Papers, p. 35.*

Right Honourable,

UPON Friday last, two of the Natives of this Country, men of good credit, came to my house, and informed me, that *Hugh Boy*, Mr. *Tirlagh*, Mr. *Henry O Neal*, a Captain, which came from *Flanders* about *May* last, hath since that time, had the chiefeft part of his residence in *Tyrone*, at or near Sir *Phelim Roe O Neal's* house, to which place, it hath been observed, there hath been more than an ordinary, or former usual resort of people; so frequent, that it has bred some suspition of evil intendments in the minds of sundry men of honest inclinations: and these Gentlemen, my authors do say, that they hold no good opinion of it, rather construing an evil intention to be the cause thereof. For my own part, I cannot tell what to make, or think of it.

The Lord *Maguire* in all that time, as they inform me also, hath been noted to have very many private journeys to *Dublin*, to the *Pale*, into *Tyrone*, to Sir *Phelim O Neal's*, and many other places this year; which likewise gives diverse of the country cause to doubt, that something is in agitation tending to no good ends.

Upon *Saturday* last, one of the same Gentlemen came again to me, and told me, that as he was going home the day before, he sent his footman a nearer

nearer way than the horse way, who met with one of the Lord *Iniskillin's* footmen, and demanded of him from whence he came? Who made answer, That he came from home that morning; and the other replying, said, You have made good haste to be here so soon: to which he answered, That his Lord came home late last night, and writ letters all that night, and left not a man in or about his house, but he hath dispatched in several ways; and he hath sent me this way to *Tirlagh Oge*, *Mac Hugh*, and others also with letters, charging them to be with his Lordship this night at his house.

Of which passage I would have given your honours sooner notice, but that I deemed it fit to be silent, in expectation that a little time would produce some better ground to afford me more matter to acquaint your Honours withal.

Whereupon this day I understood by one *Hugh Maguire*, that the said *Tirlagh Oge*, *Mac-Hugh*, *Con Connaught*, *Mac-Shane*, *Mac Enabb*, *Mac-Guire* and *Oghie O Hosey* reported themselves to have been appointed Captains by his Lordship to raise men, and that he had the nomination of seven other Captains to do the like, for to serve under the King of *Spain* in *Portugal*; and that one of the said Captains namely the said *Con Connaught*, entertained twelve men. What Authority or Commission there is for this, is not here known, but it makes some of us, that are of the *British*, to stand in many doubts and opinions concerning the same; and the rather, for that those three men so named to be Captains, are broken men in their estates and fortunes, two of them being his Lordship's near kinsmen; and that if any evil be intended, they are conceived to be as apt men to imbrace and help therein, as any of their degrees in this Country.

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These matters seem the more strange unto me, for that they are so privately carried, and that upon *Friday* last, I heard Sir *Frederick Hamilton* say, that the Colonels, that at my last being in *Dublin* were raising of their men to go for *Spain*, were since stayed by command out of *England*.

I have now therefore sent this bearer purposely by these to make known to your Lordships what I have heard in this business, which I humbly leave unto your Honors consideration, and desiring to know your pleasures herein, with remembrance of my most humble service unto your Lordships, I will end these, and be ever

Your Lordships in all duty to be commanded,
Eniskillen, 11th of
October 1641.

WIL. COLE.

NUMB. IV. *From the Journals of the Irish House of Commons, Vol. I. Fol. 210.*

Charles R.

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c.* To our trusty and well beloved Cousin and Counsellor, *Robert, Earl of Leceister*, our Lieutenant General of our Kingdom of *Ireland*, or to our Justices of that our Kingdom, or other Chief Governor or Governors there for the Time being, Greeting.

Whereas we have received from our Justices and Council of our Kingdom of *Ireland*, under the Great Seal of that Kingdom, certain Bills, or Acts, &c. We do by these presents declare our Royal Approbation of some of them, viz. An Act for the Quiet of his Majesty's Subjects against new Charges upon Patents of Concealment, &c.-----But for some others of the said Bills, or Acts, by us received,

ceived, we have, by the advice of our Privy Council, and learned Council, taken them into Consideration, and caused such Alterations, as are thought fit for us and the said Council, to be made in them, namely in the Acts following; An Act for the securing and settling the Estates of the Inhabitants of the Counties of *Galway*, Town of *Galway*, *Mayo*, *Roscommon*, and *Sligo* and County of *Clare*, and County of *Thomond*; An Act for the Settlement of the Estates of sundry Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the County of *Tipperary*, and *Limerick*; An Act for the general Quiet of the Subjects against all Pretences of Concealments whatever; An Act against Warrants of Assistance and Imprisonment in ecclesiastical Causes, &c.--- Giving you, full Power and Authority to the same Bills, and Matters, being argued, and concluded upon in our Parliament, to give and declare our Royal Assent by virtue of these Presents. Provided that our Royal Assent be, *in the first Place*, given to the said Acts for securing and settling the Estates of the Inhabitants of the Counties of *Galway*, Town of *Galway*, *Mayo*, *Roscommon*, and *Sligo*, and County of *Clare*, and County of *Thomond*; and for the Settlement of the Estates of sundry Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and Inhabitants in the Counties of *Tipperary* and *Limerick*, before the said Act for the general Quiet of the Subjects against all Pretences of Concealment whatsoever; and for so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

In Witness whereof, we have caused these our Letters to be made Patent, Witness Ourselves at *Westminster*, 12th Day of *August*, in the 17th Year of our Reign.

Per ipsum Regem propria Manu Signata
WILLYS.

NUMB. V. *Extract from the Journals of the Irish House of Commons.* Vol. I. Fol. 540, 541. August 7th 1641.

THE House having taken into serious Consideration a Commission under the Great Seal of this Kingdom, bearing date at *Dublin* the 11th Day of *February*, in the 11th Year of his Majesty's (K. *Charles Ist*) Reign, by Colour whereof the late Court, commonly called, *the High-commission Court*, did assume to itself an unlimited Power over all his Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom, as well in Causes *Ecclesiastical* as *Temporal*, to the great and universal Grievance and oppression of his Majesty's People, and tending to the Subversion of the fundamental Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom; and this said Commission and all the Parts thereof hath received four Days Debate at a grand Committee of the whole House, it is voted, upon Question, as followeth, *viz.*

1st. The Branch in the said Commission, authorising the Commissioners for to enquire by Jury, or the Oaths of twelve Men, without any legal Writ, or otherwise, at their Discretion, is not warranted by the Statute 2d *Elizabethæ* in the said Commission recited, and is contrary to Law as the said Branch is penned.

---3dly. By another Article in said Commission, the Commissioners are appointed to be Inquisitors and Judges, and to proceed arbitrarily in Cases, not warranted by any Law or Statute.

---4thly. By one Branch in said Commission the Commissioners are appointed to convene and call before them, and examine upon Oath, *even to accuse themselves*, all manner of Persons, as well Peers, as Others, without Distinction, *upon Suspicion only*, in all Cases, *and fine them without a Limit*, and imprison
them

them without Bail or Mainprize, at their Discretion, which is contrary to Law.

---8thly. The said Commissioners have Power to condemn, before personal Summons, or Appearance, at their Discretion, which is contrary to Law.

---12thly. Whereas by the said Statute of the second of *Q. Elizabeth*, the Warrant for naming Commissioners, or drawing the Commission, ought to be under the Great Seal: The Fiat of the said Commission, as appeareth by the Docquet thereof, was drawn by the *verbal Direction only* of the late * Lord Lieutenant, signified by the Lord Bishop of *Derry*, his Majesty's then Attorney General, contrary the said Statute---Wherefore, and for other apparent Errors therein contained, the said Commission is voted, upon Question, to be void, and contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

NUMB. VI. *The following Paper was delivered by his Grace, James, Duke of Ormonde, to the Reverend Dr. Nalson, and is inserted in his Historical Collections. Vol. II. p. 528.*

I, *John Ker*, Dean of *Ardagh*, having occasionally discoursed with the Right Honourable *George*, Lord Visc. *Lanesborough*, concerning the late Rebellion of *Ireland*; and his Lordship, at that Time, having desired I should certifye the said Discourse under my Hand and Seal, do declare as followeth.

That I was present in Court, when the Rebel, Sir *Phelim O Neale*, was brought to his Tryal in *Dublin*, and that he was tryed in that Court, which is now the High Court of Chancery, and that his Judges were Judge *Donelan*, Sir *Edward Bolton*, Knt. sometime Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, --- *Dungan*, then called Judge *Dungan*, and another Judge,

* *E. of Strafford*

Judge, whose Name I do not remember; and that among other Witnesses then brought in against him, there was one *Joseph Traverse*, Clerk, and one Mr. *Michael Harrison*, if I mistake not his Christian Name; and that I heard several Robberies and Murthers proved against him, the said Sir *Phelim*, (as All that he, and his People, during their being in Arms, had done were then called) he having nothing material to plead in his own Defence; and that the said Judge, whose Name I remember not, as above-said, examined the said Sir *Phelim*, about a Commission that the said Sir *Phelim* should have had from *Charles Stuart*, as the said Judge then called the late King, for levying the said War; that the said Sir *Phelim* made Answer, that he never had any such Commission; and that it was proved then in Court by the Testimony of the said *Joseph Traverse*, and others, that the said Sir *Phelim O Neale* had such a Commission, and did in the beginning of the said *Irish Rebellion* shew the same unto the said *Joseph*, and severall others then in Court. Upon which the said Sir *Phelim* confessed, that, when he surprized the Castle of *Char'emount* and the Lord *Causfield*, he ordered the said Mr. *Harrison*, and another Gentleman, whose Name I do not remember, to cut off the King's Broad Seal from a Patent of the said Lord's, which they then found in *Charlemount*, and to affix it to a Commission, which he, the said Sir *Phelim*, had ordered to be drawn up; and that the said Mr. *Harrison* did, in the Face of the whole Court, confess that, by the said Sir *Phelim's* Orders, he did stitch the Silk Cord, or Label of that Seal, to the said Commission. And that the said Sir *Edward Bolton*, and Judge *Donelan*, urging the said Sir *Phelim* to declare why he did so deceive the People; he answered, that no Man could blame him to use all Means whatsoever, to promote the Cause he had so far engaged in:

and that upon the second Day of his Tryal, some of the said Judges told him, that, if he could produce any material Proof that he had such a Commission from the said *Charles Stuart*, to declare and prove it, before Sentence should pass against him, and that the said Sir *Phelim* should be restored to his Estate, and Liberty; but he answered that he could prove no such Thing: Nevertheless they gave him Time to consider of it till the next Day, which was the third and last Day of this Tryal; upon which Day the said Sir *Phelim*, being brought into Court, and urged again, he again declared that he never could prove any such Thing as a Commission from the King; and added, that there were several Outrages committed by Officers, and Soldiers, his Aiders, and Abettors, in the Management of that War, *contrary to his Intention*, and which now *pressed his Conscience very much*; and that he could not in *Conscience*, add to them the *unjust calumniating the King*, tho' he had been *frequently solicited thereunto, by fair Promises and great Rewards, while he was in Prison*; and, proceeding further in this Discourse, *that immediately he was stopped before he had ended what he had further to say*; the Sentence of Death was pronounced against him.

I do further declare, that I was present, and very near the said Sir *Phelim*, when he was upon the Ladder, at his Execution; and that one Marshal *Peak*, and another Marshal, before the said Sir *Phelim* was cast, came riding towards the Place in great Haste, and called aloud, *Stop a little*, and having past thro' the Throng of the Spectators and Guards, one of them *whispered a pretty while* with the said Sir *Phelim*; and that the said Sir *Phelim* answered in the Hearing of several Hundreds of People, of whom *myself* was one, " I thank the Lieutenant General for this intended Mercy; but I declare, Good People, before God,

God, and his holy Angels, and all you that hear me, that I never had any *Commission from the King*, for what I have done, in Levying, or Prosecuting this War, and heartily beg your Prayers, all good Catholics and Christians, that God may be merciful unto me, and forgive me my Sins." More of this Speech I could not hear, which continued not long, the *Guards beating off* those that stood near the Place of Execution.

All that I have written as above, I declare to be true, and am ready, if thereunto required upon my corporal Oath, to attest the Truth of every particular; and in Testimony thereof, do hereunto subscribe my Hand, and affix my Seal this 28th Day of *February 1681*.

JOHN KER, *Locus Sigilli*.

NUMB. VII. *From the JOURNALS of the Irish House of COMMONS, Vol. I.*

6^o *Die Augusti, 1641.*

IT is ordered that the Lord *Robert Dillon*, and as many as please to accompany him, shall forthwith repair to the House of the Lords, desiring a Conference with their Lordships, concerning a *further Time of their Continuance together*, about some important and weighty Occasions.

It is ordered that a Committee shall be forthwith sent to the House of the Lords, to desire that both Houses *may continue together* for some further Time.

Capt. *Audley Mervin*. Sir *Richard Barnwall*.

Lord *Dillon's* Report,

1st. That the Act of *Limitations*, and Act concerning *Connaught* were coming over, and that the Committee were at the *Water-side*.

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Capt. *Audley Mervin*. Sir *Richard Barnwall*.

Lord *Dillon's* Report,

1st. That the Act of *Limitations*, and Act concerning *Connaught* were coming over, and that the Committee were at the Water-side.

A Report from the Lords House by Mr. *Patrick Darcey*.

That it might stand with their good Pleasure, notwithstanding what was moved Yesterday to the Lords Justices; yet I was commanded by the House of Commons to desire you to prefix a *further Time*.

Three Reasons.

1st. That it is the Sense of both the Committees in *England*; as by the Report of the Lord *Dillon*, read in the House.

2d. That it did much concern the Revenues to be given to his Majesty; which he expected.

3d. Concerning the Good of the Commonwealth; and that there are coming over very good and gracious Bills, as that of *Limitation*, and that of *Connaught*.

That your Lordships should give further Time to give the Resolutions to the Queries, and that great and important Business we have entered into, and but little or nothing as yet done therein.

NUMB. VIII. *From Borlase's History of the Irish Rebellion.*

— IN the End of the Year 1640, his Majesty, being informed of an Intention to raise Troubles in *Ireland*, commanded Sir *Henry Vane*, his principal Secretary, to write unto these Lords Justices this Letter:

Right Honourable,

His Majesty hath commanded me to acquaint your Lordships with an Advice given him from Abroad, and confirmed by his Ministers in *Spain*, and elsewhere, which, in this distempered Time and Conjunction of Affairs, deserves to be seriously considered,

sidered, and an especial Care and Watchfulness to be had therein; which is, that, of late, there have passed from *Spain*, and the like may well have been from other Parts, an unspeakable Number of *Irish* Church-men, for *England* and *Ireland*, and some good old Soldiers; under Pretext of asking Leave to raise Men for the King of *Spain*; whereas it is observed among the *Irish* Fryars, a Whisper runs, as if they expected a Rebellion in *Ireland*, and particularly in *Connaught*. Wherefore his Majesty thought fit to give your Lordships this Notice, that, in your Wisdoms, you might manage the same with that Dexterity and Secresy, as to discover and prevent so pernicious a Design, if any such there should be, and to have a watchful Eye on the Proceedings and Actions of those who come thither from Abroad, on what Pretext soever. And so herewith I rest

Your Lordships most Humble Servant.

Whitehall, March 16th,
1640.

HENRY VANE.

Which Letter was delivered to the Lord Justice *Parsons*, and since his Death found in his Study; and by Sir *James Barry*, Lord Baron of *Santry*, a Right honourable and worthy Person, presented to his present Majesty *Charles II.* who looked upon it as a precious Jewel, discovering his Father's Royal Thoughts towards the Preservation of his Protestant Subjects and People. But how far it was at first communicated is uncertain, though being of so great Trust it may very well be believed to have been often reflected on with great Caution and Prudence, &c.

NUMB. IX. *To the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland.*

The humble REMONSTRANCE of the Gentry and Commonalty of the County of CAVAN, of their Grievances, common with other Parts of the Kingdom of Ireland. Drawn up by Bishop Bedell, and taken from Burnett's Life of that Bishop, p. 142, &c.

WHEREAS We, his Majesty's loyal Subjects of his Highness's Kingdom of *Ireland*, have of long Time groaned under many grievous Pressures, occasioned by the rigorous Government of those placed over Us, as respecting more the Advancement of their own private Fortunes, than the Honour of his Majesty, or the Welfare of Us, his Subjects; whereof We, in humble Manner, declared ourselves to his Highness, by our Agents sent from Parliament, the Representative Body of this Kingdom: Notwithstanding which, We find ourselves of late threatened with far greater and more grievous Vexations; either with Captivity of our Consciences, or losing our lawful Libertys, or utter Extirpation from our native Seats, without any just Grounds given on our Parts to alter his Majesty's Goodness, so long continued unto Us: Of all which We find great Cause of Fears, in the Proceeding of our Neighbour-Nations, and do see it already attempted upon by certain Petitioners for the like Course, to be taken in this Kingdom, for the effecting thereof in a compulsory Way; so as Rumours have caused Fears of Invasion from other Parts, to the dissolving the Bond of mutual Agreement, which hitherto hath been held inviolable between the several Subjects of this Kingdom, and whereby all other his Majesty's Dominions have been enlinked in one. For the preventing, therefore, such Evils growing upon us in this Kingdom, We have, for the Preservation of his Honour and

our

our own Libertys, thought fit to take into our Hands for his Highness's Use and Service, such Forts and other Places of Strength, as, coming into the Possession of others, might prove disadvantageous, and tend to the utter Undoing of the Kingdom. And we do hereby declare, that herein We harbour not the least Thought of Disloyalty towards his Majesty, or purpose any Hurt to his Highness's Subjects, in their Possessions, Goods or Libertys; only We desire that your Lordships will be pleased to make Remonstrance to his Majesty, for Us, of all our Grievances and just Fears, that they may be removed; and such a Course settled, by the Advice of the Parliament of *Ireland*, whereby the Liberty of our Consciences may be secured to Us, and we eased of other Burthens in Civil Government. As for the Mischiefs and Inconveniencies that have already happened, through the Disorder of the *common Sort of People* against the *English* Inhabitants, or any other; WE, with the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and such others in the several Countys of this Kingdom, are most willing and ready, to use our and their best Endeavours to cause *Restitution* and *Satisfaction* to be made, as in Part We have already done. An Answer hereunto is most humbly desired with such present Expedition, as may by your Lordships be thought most convenient, for avoiding the Inconveniency of the Barbarousness and Incivility of the Commonalty, who have committed many Outrages, without any Order, Consenting, or Privity of ours. All which we leave to your Lordships most grave Wisdom, and shall humbly Pray.

NUMB. X. *Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Cork to the Speaker of the House of Commons in England. Lord Orrery's State Letters, Vol. I.*

“ I have, with the Assistance of the Earl of *Barrymore*, Lord Viscount of *Killmallock*, and my two Sons *Dungarvan* and *Broghill* (by the Advice of the Lords Justices, and Council of *Ireland*, who enabled me with Commissions to that Effect) lately held Sessions in the several Counties of *Cork*, *Waterford*, and even beyond the Expectation of all Men, have proceeded so far as, by Juries free from all Exception, to Indict the Lords Viscounts *Roch*, *Mountgarret*, *Ikerrin*, and *Muskerry*, and the Barons of *Dunboyne*, and *Castleconnell*, with the Son and Heir of the Lord *Cahir*, *Theobald Purcell* Baron of *Loughmoe*, *Richard Butler* of *Killcash* Esq; Brother to my very good Lord the Earl of *Ormonde*, with all other Baronets, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and *Papish* Priests, in Number ABOVE ELEVEN HUNDRED, that either *dwell*, or have entered, and done any rebellious Act in those two Counties; which Indictments I make bold to send unto you to be presented to the House, *To the End*, that they may be there considered of by such Members thereof as are learned in the Laws; that if they be wanting in any formal Point of Law, they may be reformed, and rectified, and returned unto me with such Amendments as they shall think fit; and so if the House please to direct to have them all proceeded against to Out-lawry, whereby his Majesty may be intitled to their Lands and Possessions, which I dare boldly affirm, was at the Beginning of this Insurrection, not of so little yearly Value, as *Two hundred thousand Pounds*. This Course of Proceedings against the Lords and the rest, was not by them *suspected*, and I assure you doth much *startle and terrify* them; for
now

now they begin (though too late) to take Notice that they are in good Forwardness to be attained, and all their *Estates confiscated*, to the Corruption of their Blood, and *Extirpation* of them and their Familys. And the Height of their Revenge is principally bent against the Earl of *Barrymore*, myself, and my Sons, which we all foresaw, before we entered upon this WORK OF WORKS," &c.

Dated from *Youghall*,
August 25th, 1642.

NUMB. XI. *Extract of the Acts of the General Congregation of the Roman Catholick Bishops and other Clergy, held at Kilkenny on the 10th, 11th, and 13th Days of May, 1642. From Borl. Hist. of the Irish Rebellion, fol. 122.*

A& I. In which War, if some of the *Catholicks* be found to proceed, out of some particular and unjust Title, Covetousness, Cruelty, Revenge, or Hatred, or any such unlawful private Intentions, We declare them grievously to sin, and therefore worthy to be punished and refrained with Ecclesiastical Censures, if advised thereof they do not amend.

A& IX. Let a *faithful Inventory* be made in every Province, of the Murthers, Burnings, and other Crueltys, which are committed by the *Puritan* Enemies, with a Quotation of the Place, Day, Cause, Manner, and Persons, and other Circumstances, subscribed by one of public Authority.

A& X. In every Parish let a faithful and *sworn* Messenger be appointed, whereby such Crueltys, and other Affairs may be written and sent to the neighbouring Places; and likewise from one Province to another: Let such Things be written for the Comfort, Instruction and Carefulness of the People.

A& XVIII.

Act XVIII. We ordain and decree, that all, and every such, as from the *Beginning* of this present War, have invaded the Possessions of Goods, as well moveable, as unmoveable, *Spiritual* or Temporal, of any Catholick, whether *Irish* or *English*, or also of any *Irish Protestant*, being not an Adversary of this Cause, and do retain any such Goods, shall be *excommunicated*; and, by this present Decree, We do excommunicate them, if, admonished they do not amend, and with the like Censure We do bind such, as henceforward shall invade, or detain such Goods.

Act XIX. We command all and every the Churchmen, as well Secular, as Regular, not to hear the Confessions of the aforesaid excommunicated Persons, nor to administer unto them the holy Sacrament, under Pain of Excommunication *ipso facto*.

Act XX. We will, and declare, all those that *murther*, dismember, or grievously strike, all Thieves, unlawful Spoilers, Robbers of any Goods, Extorters together with all such as favour, receive or any Ways assist them, to be excommunicated; and so to remain till they compleatly amend, and satisfy, no less than if they were namely proclaimed excommunicated; and for Satisfaction of such Crimes hitherto committed to be enjoined, We leave to the Discretion of the Ordinaries and Confessors how to absolve them.

Act XXI. We command all, and every the General, Colonels, Captains, and other Officers of our Catholic Army, to whom it appertaineth, that they severally punish all Transgressors of our aforesaid Command touching Murtherers, Maimers, Strikers, Thieves, Robbers; and if they fail therein, We command the Parish-priests, Curates and Chaplains, respectively, to declare them interdicted, and that they shall be *excommunicated*, if they cause not due Satisfaction to be made to the Commonwealth, and the Party offended. And this the Parish-priests, or
Chap-

Chaplains, shall observe, under Pain of Sentence of Excommunication given *ipso facto*.

Act XXIX. Moreover, We pray, and require all Noblemen, Magistrates, and all other Marshall Commanders that with their Helps and secular Forces, they assist and set forward in Execution the aforesaid Statutes in their several Precincts respectively as often as it shall be needful.

NUMB. XII. *Extract of the Propositions of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland, humbly presented to his Sacred Majesty, in Pursuance to their Remonstrance of Grievances and to be annexed to the said Remonstrance. From Bor. Hist. of the Irish Reb. Fol. 184.*

2d. Prop. That your Majesty will be pleased to call a free Parliament in the said Kingdom (*Ireland*) to be held and continued, as in the said Remonstrance is expressed; and the Statute of the 10th Year of King *Henry VII.* called *Poyning's*, And the *Acts* explaining or enlarging the same, be suspended during that Parliament, for the speedy Settlement of the present Affairs; and the Repeal thereof, be there further considered of.

17th. Prop. For as much as your Majesty's said Catholic Subjects have been taxed with many inhuman Cruelties, *which they never committed*, your Majesty's said Suppliants therefore, for their Vindication, and to manifest to all the World their Desire to have all such *heinous Offences punished*, and the *Offenders brought to Justice*, to desire that in the next Parliament, all notorious Murthers, Breaches of Quarter, and inhumane Crueltys, committed of *either Side*, may be questioned in the said Parliament, if your Majesty think fit, and such as shall appear to be guilty,

guilty, to be *excepted* out of the said Act of Oblivion, and punished according to their Deserts.

NUMB. XIII. *The Answer of the Committee of Lords and others of Irish Affairs at Oxford, to the Propositions made to his Majesty by the Protestant Agents from Ireland. Borl. Hist of the Irish. Rebel. Fol. 195.*

1st. **T**HAT their Lordships did not think that the *Propositions* represented by the *Protestant* Agents to his Majesty, and that Morning read before their Lordships, were the Sense of the *Protestants* of *Ireland*.

2d. That those *Propositions* were not agreeable to the Instructions given the said Agents by the *Protestants* of *Ireland*.

3d. That, if those *Propositions* were drawn, they would lay a Prejudice on his Majesty, and his Ministers to Posterity, these remaining on Record, if a Treaty should go on, and Peace follow, which the King's *Necessity* did inforce; and that the Lords of the Committee apprehended, the said Agents did *flatly* oppose a Peace with the *Irish*.

4th. That it would be impossible for the King to grant the *Protestant* Agents Desires, and grant a Peace to the *Irish*.

5th. That the Lords of the Committee desired the *Protestant* Agents to propose a Way to effect their Desires, either by Force, or Treaty, considering the Condition of his Majesty's Affairs in *England*.

NUMB. XIV. *News from his Majesty's Army in Scotland, to be presented to the most Honourable the Lord Lieutenant-General of Ireland; written at Inverloughy in Loughaber, the 7th of February, 1644; by an Irish Officer in Alexander Macdonnell's Forces. From Carte's Collection of Original Letters and Papers, concerning the Affairs of England, and Ireland, found among the Duke of Ormonde's Papers. Vol. 1. p. 73.*

WHEN the *Irish* Forces arrived in *Argyle's* Bounds in *Scotland*, our General-Major, *Alexander Macdonnell*, sent such of his Majesty's Commissions and Letters to those to whom they were directed; although for the present none was accepted on; which caused our General-Major and those Forces to march into *Badenoch*, where they raised the Country with them; and from thence to *Castle-Blair* in *Athol*, where the Lord Marquess of *Montrose* came unto and joined them with some other small Forces. From thence they marched *St. Johnstone*, where the Enemy had gathered together 8000 Foot and 800 Horse, with nine Pieces of Cannon, his Majesty's Army not having so much as one Horse: For that Day the Marquess of *Montrose* went on Foot himself with his Target and Pike; the Lord *Kilpatrik* commanding the Bow-men, and our General-Major of the *Irish* Forces commanding his three Regiments. The Armies being drawn up on both Sides, they both advanced together; and although the Battle continued for some Space, we lost not one Man on our Side, yet still advanced, the Enemy being 3 or 4 to one: Howsoever, God gave us the Day; the Enemy retreating with their Backs towards us, that Men might have walked upon the dead Corps to the Town, being two long Miles from the Place where the Battle was pitched. The Chace continued from

8 o'Clock in the Morning till 9 at Night : All their Cannon, Arms, Ammunition, Colours, Drums, Tents, Baggage, in a Word, none of themselves nor Baggage escaped our Hands, but their Horse and such of the Foot as were taken Prisoners within the City. This Battle, to God's Glory, and our Prince's Good, was fought the first Day of September.

From thence we marched straight to *Aberdeen*, only surprising such as withstood us, with little or no skirmishing; till the 13th of the same Month at *Aberdeen*, the *Covenanters* of the North had gathered themselves together, to the Number of 3000 Foot and 500 Horse, with three Pieces of Cannon. We had then about 80 Horse : The Battle being fairly pitched, it continued for a long Space, and the Enemy behaved themselves far better than the did at *Johnston*. Yet we lost not that Day above 4, but the Enemy were altogether cut off, unless some few that hid themselves in the City. The Riches of that Town and the Riches they got before hath made all our Soldiers Cavaliers. This Battle being ended, only our Manner of going down to Battle and how each commanded, I omit till it be drawn, and set down in a more ample Manner; now tendering only a Brevity of our Proceedings; for if I should write the whole Truth, all that hath been done by our Army would be counted most miraculous; which I protest I will but shew in the least Manner I can, leaving the rest to the Report of the Enemy themselves.

After this Battle, we marched towards the *Highlands* again, so far as to *Castle Blaire*, where I was sent to *Ardamuragh*, with a Party to relieve the Castle of *Migary* and the Castle of *Lough a'ine*; *Migary* Castle having a Leaguer about it, which was raised 2 or 3 Days before I could come to them; at which
Time

Time the Captain of *Clannonald*, with all his Men join'd with *Clancco* Men, and others, who had an Inclination to his Majesty's Service.

In the mean Time, while I was interessed upon the Services, the Marquess of *Montrose* marched back to the *Low-lands*, almost the same Way that he marched before, till they came to a Place called *Fivy* in the Shire of *Aberdeen*, where *Argyle*, with 16 Troops of Horse and 3000 Foot marched up, and upon a very plain Field *Argyle* was most shamefully beaten out of the Field; and had it not been for his Horse, they had suffered as deeply as the rest; so that there was not on our Side any Hurt done, but on their Side, they lost many of their best Horse and most of all their Commanders hurt; and the Earl Mareschal's Brother killed. After the Armies separated, the Lord Marquess marched again to *Castle-Blaire* in *Athol*, where I met again with him and such of the *Highlands* as had joined with me, the Day of *Fivy* was on *October*, 28th.

From *Castle-Blaire*, we marched to *Glanurghyes*, called *McCallin*, *McConaghy*, which Lands we all burn'd and preyed from thence to *Lares* alias *Laufers*; and burn'd and prey'd all this Country from thence to *Aghenbracke's*, whose Lands and Country were burn'd and prey'd; and so throughout all *Argyle*, we left neither House nor Hold unburned, nor Corn nor Cattle that belonged to the whole Name of *Campbell*. Such of his Majesty's Friends as lived near them joined with us. We then marched to *Loughaber*, where Mr. *Alane* came and joined us, but had but few of his Men with him. From thence we marched to *Glengarry*, where the Lord of *Glengarry* joined with us. At this Place we got Intelligence that *Argyle*, *Aghenbracke*, and the whole Name of *Campbell*, with all their Forces, and a great Number of *Lowland-men* with them, were come to *Inver-*

loughy in *Foughaber*, following us. This caused us to make a counter-march the nearest Way over the Mountains, till we came within Musket-shot of the Castle of *Inverloughy*; it then being Night, so that the Enemy stood to their Arms all Night, the Sentries skirmishing together. By this Place of *Inverloughy*, the Sea comes close to it, and that Night *Argyle* embarked himself in his Barge, and there lay till the next Morning, sending his Orders of Discipline to *Aghenbracke* and the rest of the Officers there, commanding the Battle; which on both Sides being pitched, and their Cannon planted, the Fight began; the Enemy giving Fire on us on both Sides, both with Cannon and Muskets to their little avail. For only two Regiments of our Army, playing with Musket-shot, advanc'd till they recovered *Argyle's* Standard, and the Standard-bearer, at which their whole Army broke, which were so hotly pursued both with Foot and Horse, that little or none of the whole Army escaped us, the Officers being the first that were cut off.

There *Aghenbracke* was killed, with 16 or 17 of the Chief Lords of *Campbell*, their other Low-land Commanders (only two Lieutenant-Colonels) all cut off; four others of the Name of *Campbell* taken Prisoners, as *Bearbrick*, the young Laird *Carrindel*, *Inverteen* Captain, Son of *Enistefin*, and divers others that got Quarter being Men of Quality. We lost but 2 or 3 that Day; this was fought the 2d. of *February*.

NUMB. XV. *Order of the Lords Justices and Council to the Earl of Ormonde, to burn and destroy the Rebels and their Relievers, &c.* From Carte's Collec. of Letters. p. 61.

It is resolved, That it is fit that his Lordship do endeavour with his Majestie's said forces to wound, kill, slay, and destroy, by all the ways and meanes he may all the said Rebels, and their adherents and relievers, and burn, spoile, waste, consume, destroy and demolish all the places, towns, and houses where the said Rebels are, or have been, relieved and harboured, and all the corne and hay there, and kill and destroy all the Men there inhabiting able to bear armes. Given at his Majestie's castle of Dublin 23 Februarij 1641.

R. DILLON. AD. LOFTUS. J. TEMPLE. THO. ROTHERAM. FR. WILLOUGHBY. R. MEREDITH.

NUMB. XVI. *Order of the Lords Justices and Council to the Earl of Ormonde.* From Carte's Col. of Let. p. 62.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

W. PARSONS. JO. BORLASE.

IT is thought fit that our very good Lord the Earl of Ormonde and Offory, Lieutenant General of his Majestie's Army, do march with 3000 foote and 500 horse towards the river of Boine, and (according to his Majestie's Proclamation dated the first of January last) to prosecute with fire and sword all Rebels and Traitors, and their adherents and abettors in the Counties of Dublin and Meath, and to burn, spoile, waste, consume, destroy, and demolish (as he shall think fit) the places, towns and houses where the Rebels their Adherents or abettors are, or have been

been relieved and harboured, or now or lately [* usually] resided, yet soe as the said forces doe not passe beyond the river of *Boine*, but march in such places between the *Boine* and the Sea, as his Lordship shall think fit, and soe as his Lordship take care that no corne, hay, or houses be burnt within five miles of *Dublin*. And it is thought fit that his Lordship shall not be absent from hence above eight daies, unless during his absence, we shall send him further direction to that purpose. Given at his Majestie's castle of *Dublin* 3^o Martij 1641.

R. DILLON. AD. LOFTUS. J. TEMPLE.
THO. ROTHERAM. FR. WILLOUGHBY. ROB.
MEREDITH.

NUMB. XVII. *Sir John Temple to the Earl of Ormonde.* Carte's Coll. fol. 64.

My Lord,

MY particular affection to your service makes me very vigilant in any thing that may concern your Lordship here. And I must tell you in private, that I find your proposition of going to the *Newry* absolutely disliked by all that sit at this Board. Some do more sharply resent it, and think your Lordship might well have forbore the making of that
over-

* This word was not originally in the order, but upon the Earl of Ormonde's desiring an explanation of their meaning, and refusing to let Sir Simon Harcourt go upon this expedition as chief Commander in his stead, (which the Lords Justices earnestly desired of him) it was interlined by Sir William Parsons, and yet in the recital of this order in the letter of the whole Board to the said Earl, dated March 13, 1641, it is omitted. Carte, *ibid*.

overture; * as also that of sparing all the Nobility and Gentry of the Pale. Give me leave, as one highly valuing your Person, to deale freely with you, and to beseech your Lordship to be very careful how you carry your self in receiving such submissions, as shall be tendered unto you. In my opinion, you shall doe well to observe the Lords directions punctually, and to remember you have no commission to receive any otherwaies than they have directed. I would be very sorry, as the times now are, that your Lordship should give any occasion of advantage to those who affect you not. I am here with strong affections to serve you, and thinke I cannot doe it better than by dealing freely with you. Make what use of it you please to your selfe, and believe it proceedes from one that is really

Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

Dublin-Castle, March

J. TEMPLE.

10, 1641.

* The following Postscript to a Letter dated the 9th of March 1641, of the E. of Ormonde's to the Lords Justices, in answer to their's of the 3d of that Month which was the occasion of the pretended kind intimation of Sir John Temple.

My Lords, I humbly desire, that I may be directed what I shall do, in case the Lords or Gentlemen come in to offer themselves unto me; and whether I shall burn and destroy the houses and goods of those Lords. I am bold to desire this particular direction concerning them, in regard of their Quality; and that there came no direction concerning them forth of *England*, though desired by your Lordships. This to be sent immediately by the horse that come in lieu of these I send.

NUMBER XVIII. *Sir John Netterville to the Mar-
quess of Ormonde.* From Carte's Collec. of Let-
ters, p. 123.

Most honoured Lord,

I Have been this Day called into the King's Bench to be arraigned; where, upon my demanding a copie of the inditement, (according to the vote of the House of Commons) to inform myself whether a generall plea or a special were fittest, I was refused to have a copie, yet but so as to morrow is given unto me to make my determinate answer, and to know their further pleasure. My Lord, it was the King's Proclamation called me, and the order of the House of Parliament of *England*; yet the confidence I had in your Honour brought me, or I had not come hither.

What I have suffered I need net repeat unto you, and what I am like to do is very uncertain; but it carries a bad countenance.

I humbly beseech your Lordship to consider how far these proceedings touch the King's Honour, the Parliament's, and your own, and accordingly to proceed for the Safetie of

Your most humble Servant,

30 Jan. 1642.

J. NETTERVILLE.

NUMBER XIX. *Petition of the Prisoners in the Castle of Dublin to the Honourable House of Commons in England.* From Carte's Collec. of Letters, p. 145.

The humble Petition of the Persons undernamed.

Most humbly shewing,

THAT your Petitioners, by the strength and power of the northern *Irish* and their adherents,

rents, upon the rising of this unhappy Insurrection, were inforced to keep in their houses in the Country, his Majestie's Army being then weak and not able to take the field : And when some of your Petitioners did make their Way through many dangers to his Majestie's city of *Dublin*, with a resolution to continue there, they and all others who had any residence in the Country, were commanded by a Proclamation to return to their houses there, and inhibited to come to the said city : which, in obedience to the said Proclamation, your Petitioners did and there continued in daily danger, untill that the Right Honourable *James* Earl of *Ormonde* and *Ossorie*, and now Marquess of *Ormonde*, his Majestie's Lieutenant Generall of his Majestie's Army in *Ireland*, did march forth into that part of the Country, near which your Petitioners severall habitations were ; and your Petitioners confiding in his Majestie's and your Honour's clemency and mercy, addrested themselves unto his Lordship, some in the country, some in the city, before his going forth, and desired to be received into his Majestie's service, protection, grace and mercy, according to his Highness's Proclamation sent out of *England*, signed with his Royal Hand, and sealed with his Privy Signet, and the gracious order of that honourable House of Commons in *England*, directing that mercy in the first place should be offered unto the people of this Kingdom, before that there were any prosecution with fire and sword.

Notwithstanding all which, your Petitioners, after this their voluntary coming in and submission, were committed Prisoners to his Majestie's Castle of *Dublin*, where they have continued, some twelve, others fourteen months, prisoners, one of them put upon the racke and most extreemly tortured, to the deterring (as may be conceived) of many others
from

from submission, who were ready by your Petitioners example to come in : And since their commitment, your suplicants have been examined, some by menace, others by torture ; most were necessitated to subscribe to what the examiners pleased to insert, who usually did refuse to enter or write such particulars as served to extenuate or avoid the offence pretended, and only entering their condemnation ; and after were indicted of High Treason, after their said free coming in and submission, (albeit they never harboured the least thought of disloyalty) and their lands and goods wholly destroyed and taken away by the Rebels and Soldiers, and themselves ready to perish in prison for want of relief, being denied the favour to be bailed, which yet had been afforded to divers others.

Their most humble request unto your Honours is, that you will be pleased to mediate with his Majesty for his direction, that your Petitioners be set at liberty, and freed from the danger of their lives and estates, the rather, in that they never committed any act of hostility, nor had their hands in the blood or spoile of any ; and that his Majesty graciously pass by their lesser offences, being inevitable, by reason of the general and sudden commotions and distractions almost in all parts of this Kingdom. And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

DUNSANY.

GEORGE AYLNER.

GERALD AYLNER.

JO. TALBOT.

WM. MALONE.

NICH. DOWDALL.

NICHO. WHYTE.

EDW. DOWDALL.

LAURENCE DOWDALL.

JO. NETTERVILL.

PATR. BARNEWELL.

NIC. WHITE.

ANDREW AYLNER.

STEPH. DOWDALL.

GERALD FITZGERALD.

N. B. The like Petition, *mutatis mutandis*, was sent to the King.

NUMBER XX. *To the Right Honourable the Marquess of Ormonde, Lieutenant General of his Majesty's forces in Ireland.*

The humble Petition of the Parties undernamed and others, Prisoners in the Castle of Dublin. From Carte's Collec. of Letters, p. 147.

MAY it please your Lordship to call to mind how your Petitioners, whose names are hereunto subscribed, upon your Lordship's advancing into the Country with his Majesty's Army, did come and submit themselves to your Lordship, not doubting but that thereby they should partake of his Majesty's grace and mercy; and yet they have received as hard measure since, as if they had been taken prisoners, and committed the highest acts of treason. Your Lordship cannot forget that we were then out of the danger of the Army, and that if we had suspected any such hard and extream usage, as we have since found, that we might have means and opportunity to shift for our selves, and at least to continue our former liberty. But we being conscious to no voluntary treason committed by us, did of our own free will and accord put our selves into your Lordship's hands, not doubting but that this was an engagement in point of Honour upon your Lordship, if not upon his Majesty (as we likewise conceive it is) to his Highness, and to the Parliament for us, which your Lordship had not hitherto done.

Their humble request unto your Lordship is, that for the clearing of your self from having an hand in the proceedings, which since their submission
have

have been against your Petitioners, and the vindicating of your Honour unto posterity, which in the opinion of many doth (for this) much suffer, your Lordship will be pleased by your letters to transmit their petitions subscribed by them unto his Majesty, and also to the honourable House of Commons in *England*; which is the least right (and is in the maine nothing but truth) which your Lordship is bound in Honour to testify. And they will pray, &c.

JO. NETTERVILL.	GERALD AYLMEY.
GEORGE AYLMEY.	NICHOLAS DOWDALL.
E. DOWDALL.	WM MALONE.
LAW. DOWDALL.	STEPHEN DOWDALL.
PAT. BARNEWALL.	JO. TALBOT.
GER. FITZGERALD.	

NUMBER XXI. *The Marquess of Ormonde to the Speaker of the House of Commons in England. From Carte's Collection of Letters, p. 147.*

S I R,

THES E two inclosed petitions were delivered unto me, which I thought I could not, without wronging my self in my Honour, but transmit unto you, that you might in due time acquaint the honourable House of Commons therewith.

That part thereof which concerneth their coming of their own accord unto me, and submitting to his Majestie's mercy, and the course which hath been since held with them is very truly set forth; only that Sir *Nicholas White* and his Son being for the most part resident in this city, were committed upon suspicion, and did not submit to me. More than this I know not, only that I have

not

not heard of any hostile act which hath been done by any of them; and to enter into their hearts, and search what is there, is only peculiar to God. I am not able to judge whether any treason was hatched there or no.

The wisdom of that great Council doth best know how to advise his Majesty, when, and where, and to whom, for the most advantage of the present service, to distribute mercy; and to their great wisdom I do submit these petitions. Two other petitions of the same nature, with the like subscriptions I did, according to the request made to me, in like sort transmit to his Majesty. And more than this I have not for the present to trouble you with, &c.

ORMONDE.

N. B. The like letter was sent to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

NUMBER XXII. *The Charge against Sir William Parsons, Sir Adam Loftus, Sir John Temple, and Sir Robert Meredith. From Carte's collection of Letters p. 206.*

To the KING's most excellent Majesty.

May it please your Majesty.

WHereas divers of your Majestie's Officers and Ministers of State in your Kingdom of Ireland, namely, Sir *William Parsons*, late one of your Lords Justices of that your Kingdom, Sir *Adam Loftus*, Sir *John Temple*, and Sir *Robert Meredith*, have by divers waies and meanes abused the trust reposed in them by your Majesty in their severall offices and employments, and trayterously have endeavoured to draw your Majestie's Army
Y there

there from your obedience to side with the Rebels in this your Kingdom of *England* now in armes against you, whom they have by all meanes countenanced and upheld against your Majesty, we have thought our selves obliged, according to the duty of our allegiance, to accuse the said ill Ministers of their crimes and misdemeanours, that they may receive condigne punishment for the same, and to that purpose do present unto your Majesty these particulars following :

1. That contrary to their duty and allegiance to your Majesty, and their oath as Privy Counsellours, they have taken and published scandalous examinations of your Majesty, thereby endeavouring to asperse your sacred Majesty as author of the bloody Rebellion in *Ireland*.

2. That *Robert Goodwin* and *Robert Reynolds*, two Members of the House of Commons, and persons ill affected to your Majestie's service, being sent by the Parliament here about *November* last into that Kingdom, endeavouring to raise a party in the Army there against your Majesty, were by them countenanced and upheld in that action : And notwithstanding a charge of treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours were put in against the said *Goodwin* and *Reynolds* by many of the Officers of your Majestie's Army there, and thereupon it was desired that their persons might be secured ; yet they not only refused to restraints them, but did also admit them to the Council Board, communicating to them all the affairs of this Kingdom, and secrets of your Majestie's dispatches and directions to the Board, to be made known to the Rebels here ; and after conveyed them away to *Lon'on* in one of his Majestie's ships, thereby withdrawing those guilty persons from their just tryall, and sending that ship to
the

the Rebels now in armes against your Majesty, who have seized and detained the same ever since.

3. That they have at several times uttered many reproachfull and dishonourable speeches against your Majesty, vilifying your power, and countenancing and commending the cause and carriage of the Rebels here in armes against your Majesty, thereby endeavouring to destroy your Majesty's power and authority with your Army in that Kingdom.

4. That the said Sir *W. Parsons* presently after the happy victory obtained by your Majesty against the Rebels in the battel at *Elghill*, did publickly, with a great seeming content and desire it should be soe, report, that your Majesty was killed and gone, repeating it divers times.

5. That many great sums of money, raised in this Kingdom for support of your Majesty's Army there, being paid to Sir *Adam Loftus* in the current coine of this Kingdom, he for private lucre, and contrary to the trust reposed in him, hath changed the same, and paid the Army in *Dollars*, and other *German* coine at 4*s.* 6*d.* the peece, whereas he bought the same at 3*s.* 6. and 4*d.* the peece, thereby enriching himself to the great prejudice of the soldiers, and impoverishing of the whole Kingdom.

6. That the said Sir *John Temple* did in the month of *May* last and *June* instant write two traiterous and scandalous letters against your Majesty to the said *Goodwin* and *Reynolds*; which letters have been since read at the close Committee, and use made of them to cast false aspersions upon your Majesty, as fomenting and favouring the Rebels in *Ireland*.

7. That one *Ferome*, a Preacher, in or about the month of *February* last, having at *Dublin*

preached a traiterous and seditious sermon against your Majesty and your Royal Consort the Queen, in the pulpit, was by the Archbishop of *Dublin* impeached of treason in the House of Lords, the Parliament being then sitting, and was for the same and by them committed. The House being adjourned soon after by the Lords Justices, the said *Jerome* was by them and their parties aforesaid set at liberty, and being sent hither into *England*, is now with the Rebels in *Manchester*, where he now remaines, continuing his traiterous and railing manner of preaching against your Majesty, and justifying his sermons preached in *Ireland*, and applauding the said Justices and their confederates for their affections to the Parliament. And one *Adam Beaghan* was by them about the month of *December* last also committed to the castle of *Dublin*, and restrained divers weekes, because he said the Earl of *Essex* was a traitor, and justified the same by a Proclamation from your Majesty to that purpose.

That the said parties are guilty, not only of these, but also of divers treasonable acts and conspiracies, and other high and heinous misdemeanours not herein expressed, which we desire hereafter to have the liberty to insert particularly ; and that in the interim the said persons may be sequestered from the Council Board, and from all Courts and places of judicature in that Kingdom, and such other course prescribed for examining and tryal of them, as shall be fit.

DILLON. H. WILMOT. FAITHF FORTESCUE.
BRY. ONEILL. DAN. O NEILL.

NUMBER XXIII. *The KING to the Marques of Ormonde. From Carte's Collection of Letters, p. 241.*

Charles R.

Right trusty and entirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, we greet you well. Whereas we are informed by our trusty and well beloved servant Lieutenant Colonel *John Reid*, that, besides the cruell and inhuman racking of him, there was a seizure made of his house, moneys, plate, and other goods: We being fully satisfied of his loyalty and fidelity to us, and that he never gave any just cause why any such seizure should be made, and much less cause to be used so barbarously as he was, do therefore will and require you that, upon receipt hereof, you cause to be restored unto him his house, and all such moneys, plate, and other goods as were seized on, or that he can prove were in his house, when they took possession thereof; and if any of them be either embezzled, spoyled, or otherwise lost, that present satisfaction be made unto him, according to the true value of what shall be wanting or spoyled, out of the estates of those who commanded the said seizure to be made: And for so doing this shall be your warrant. And so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at *Oxford*, this 5th day of *February* 1643.

By his Majestie's Command,

GEORGE DIGBYE.

NUMBER XXIV. *Lord Digby to the Marquess of Ormonde. From Carte's Collection of Letters, p. 243.*

My Lord,

I AM very glad to hear of the two regiments of foot, and four troopes of horse more, which your Excellence is sending over; whereof my Lord Byron's late defeat makes the necessity more pressing, though I must needs tell you that the *Irish* will be much more wellcome supplies, in regard that the *English* there in *Leinster* being most *Welsh* and *Cheshiremen*, are very subject to be corrupted in their own Countries, and the treacherous revolt of some of them, was the occasion of my Lord Byron's late misfortune. I must therefore re-iterate and press it to your Lordship, to hasten by all means possible the levyes and transportation of *Irish*, to whom no temptations or corruptives here can be applied.

*Oxford, Feb.
8, 1643.*

*My Lord, Your Excellence's, &c.
G. D.*

NUMBER XXV. *Lord Inchiquin to the Marquess of Ormonde. From Carte's Collect. of Let. p. 244.*

May it please your Lordship,

I Cannot give your Lordship such an accompt of affairs here as I could wish, his Majestie's forces having suffered great losses this last month, the *French* Ambassador having also left us but cold hopes of assistance from that Nation: And the *Irish* (who are here extremely relyed on) being (I fear) unable to do more than defend themselves from the *Scots*, who, I doubt, will prove dangerous Rebels to his Majestie: Yet the assistance which is here expected from the *Irish*, will not (as I conceive) be

be very difficult for them to give, being but to permit some 5000 men to be raised and transported hither; which (I think) may be done, though his Majestie should desire none but volunteers not inlisted there.

Oxon, 10. Feb.

My Lord, &c.

1643.

INCHQUIN.

NUMBER XXVI. *The King to the Marquess of Ormonde: From Carte's Collection of Letters, p. 367.*

Ormonde,

IT having pleased God so far to bless my affaires in *Scotland*, under the Marquess of *Montrofs*, by those helps, which have been given him from *Ireland*, whereof I find *very powerfull effects* in the temper of the *Scottish Nation at London*, I cannot but consider the supporting of the Marquess *Montrofs's* power there, as one of the most essentiall points of all my affaires; and therefore I have sent over this bearer Colonell *Steward* on purpose to sollicite you, and according to your directions, the *Irish*, for the procuring the speediest and considerablest supplies of armes, ammunition, and men also, that can be obtained to be sent over with all possible expedition to *Scotland*: whom I have also commanded wholly to tend that service in such way, as you shall think may be most usefull; he being a person of approved fidelity and ability, and intimate with the Marquess of *Montrofs*, with whom I desire you to hold frequent and carefull correspondence. And so no way doubting of the same care in this matter of great importance, which you have ever exprest in all things which concern my service, I rest

Oxford, Jan.

Your most assured constant friend,

the 4th, 1644.

CHARLES R.

NUMBER

NUMB. XXVII. *The KING to the Marquess of Ormonde, in Sir John Read's behalf. From Carte's Collection of Letters, p. 373.*

Charles R.

RIGHT trusty and right intirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, we greet you well. Whereas complaint hath been made unto us by our trusty and well-beloved servant Sir *John Reade*, Knight, one of the Gentlemen of our privy Chamber, that notwithstanding he was imployed unto us with letters from the Nobility and Gentry of the *English* Pale of that our Kingdom, and that thereupon he sent a servant of his with a letter to Sir *William Parsons*, one of our then Lords Justices, for a pass to come into this our Kingdom; who with our other Justices and Council returned him answer by letter to repaire to *Dublin*, that they might confer with him before his departure, at his coming to *Dublin* was committed close prisoner to our castle there, notwithstanding they wrote for him, and that he told them he brought letters to us; and that he brought another letter from the Lord Viscount *Netterville*, to desire a safe-conduct for himself and two or three more to come and see a Proclamation of ours, whereof they had a rumour, which commanded them to lay down their armes, and submit to our mercy, that, if true, they might render their obedience thereto; and that soon after he was racked, and afterwards indicted, and after that, though a prisoner, and in that condition sent to *London*, he was outlawed of High-Treason, and that, before he was either indicted or outlawed, his house and goods were seized upon, and his children and family thrust out of doors; nor upon his wife's petition would they give her any part of her own goods, to maintain herself and her small children, though the Barons of our
Exche-

Exchequer, to whom her petition was referred, did certify that it did not appear unto them what his offence was, nor how, or for what cause, we either were or might be intituled to his goods, or other estate; which high and extreme courses, (if true) as we utterly distaste and dislike them, so we desire to be fully informed of the truth thereof. We do therefore by these our Letters will and request you to direct a Commission under our great Seale there to such Commissioners as you shall thing fit, to examine such witnesses as shall be produced touching the premises, and to make enquiry what became of the said letters he was to bring to us, and what answer was given to Lord *Netterville's* letter by our Justices; and by whose direction or allowance the said Sir *John Reade* was racked, and by whose direction, order, or advice, he was indicted, and by whose direction he was sent prisoner to *London*, and afterwards outlawed, being known to be sent prisoner thither, and to cause a true copy of the said examinations to be sent to us with all convenient speed, that we may give such further directions thereupon, as to honour and justice appertaineth. Given at our Court at *Oxford*, the 22d. of *January* 1644.

By his Majestie's Command,

GEORGE DIGBYE.

NUMB. XXVIII. *Sir Richard Blake to the Nuncio.*
From Carte's Collection of Letters. p. 585.

My Lord,

I Am commanded by this Assembly to let your Lordship know, that the Confederate Catholics of *Ireland*, in their great and filial respect to his Holiness, having with too great and unexampled patience, born with the manifold oppressions, divisions, transcendent

scendent crimes, and capital offences your Lordship hath continually, and without intermission, acted and done in this Kingdom for the space of almost three years now past, and doth as yet continue and do therein, tending to the unspeakable detriment of Catholick Religion, ruin and destruction of so ancient and Catholic a Nation, and the dishonour your actions and proceedings, during your Nunciature in this land, have endeavoured to cast upon the See Apostolic; have necessitated this General Assembly to make their recourse to warrantable and just mediums for the preservation of that, which remains undestroyed of the greatest interests of the Kingdom, by your means and unwarrantable intermeddling in affaires reduced to the lowest ebb. They do therefore let your Lordship know, that there is a Declaration and Protestation in preparation against you to be sent to his Holiness, importing in part the matters contained in the inclosed, whereof your Lordship may be pleased to take notice and prepare your self for your journey to *Rome* and defence against that charge there: And in the mean time, that your Lordship, on the penalty which may ensue by the laws of God and Nations, by your self or any of your instruments, directly or indirectly, intermeddle not in any other affaires in this Kingdom.

19 October
1648.

Your Lordship's, &c.

RICHARD BLAKE.

NUMB. XXIX. *The Marquess of Ormonde to Lord Digby. From Carte's Collection of Letters, p. 600.*
My Lord,

THE Peace (1648) is at length concluded, and that (I think) clearly within the powers I had.
I must

I must say for this people, that I have observed in them great readiness to comply with what I was able to give them, and a very great sense of the King's sad condition. I am most confident, if we can but receive moderate countenance and assistance from abroad, this Kingdom will very speedily be in absolute subjection to the King's Authority, and ready powerfully to assist any design that may be for his restoration in both, or either of the other.

Kilkenny, 22

Your Lordship's, &c.

Jan. 1648.

ORMONDE.

NUMB. XXX. *The Earl of Ormonde to the Lords Justices. From Carte's Collection of Letters, p. 68.*

May it please your Lordships,

HAVING received from your Lordship (my Lord Parsons) a note intimateing a safe-guard to Mr. Barnwell of Kilbrue, at his earnest suit I suffered him to come along with me. He is now gone to his house, but will doubtless go along with me to *Dublin*. This I wished the Corporal to tell your Lordships, I rest

Your Lordships most humble Servant,

Garristown, the 12th
of March 1641.

ORMONDE OSSORY.

NUMB.

NUMB. XXXI. *The Nobility and Gentry assembled at Kilkenny to the Earl of Ormonde. From Carte's Collection of Letters, p. 99.*

Sent with a Petition to the KING.

Right Honourable,

HOW little cause soever we have to expect any favour from your Lordship, yet the eminent place you hold under our dread Sovereigne, in the command of his Army here, moves us to address unto you the inclosed petition from the greater part of the Nobility, Gentry and Commons of this poore Kingdom, to be transmitted to his sacred Majestie, which in a matter of so great consequence, you cannot, in justice to us, or duty to him, refuse to doe; and to retard the sending it over, will be in effect to suppress it; an unworthiness farr below the honour of your Birth and estimation; and such as would render you guilty of all the evils that may ensue thereof. Thus with tender of our service to your Lordship we rest.

31 July 1642.

Gormonston.

Mountgarret, &c.

To the KING's most excel'ent Majestie.

The humble Petition of the Catholicks of Ireland.

MOST sacred and dread Sovereigne, we your most loyall and obedient subjects, whom it nearest concerns to preserve the rights and prerogatives of your Crowne firme and entire, as yielding us a just and mercifull protection against the severity of our penall lawes, in maintenance of that power, the birth-right of Kings, kept unblemished for you by your famous Ancestors, have had recourse to Arms; to that end only, that you our gracious Sovereigne with all the pre-eminences due and derived
unto

unto you by a long succession of Monarchs, might alone reigne over us, and we in the just freedom of subjects, independant of any jurisdiction, not derived from your Majestie, live happily under the Crowne of *England*; yet lest these our intendments by the practice of our adversaries might be misrepresented unto you, and we enforced undeservedly to suffer in your Majestie's opinion, (which would be a burthen more heavy unto us than the sword of our adversaries, altho' daily imbrued in the blood of our wives and children,) we have often endeavoured to have access by our Agents to that Royall Throne, which with the hazard of our lives and fortunes we labour to maintain glorious and unspotted: yet such is the unwearied watchfullness of our adversaries, that some imployed to that end by us are imprisoned there, as my Lord *Costello*, some intercepted and put to the rack here, as Lieutenant Colonell *Reade*, soe that now it is beyond our reach, and only within your Majestie's power to provide, that we may be heard by your Majestie, since we are so unhappy as that your Majestie's resolution of coming into this Kingdom of *Ireland* met with greater diversions, than the threats and menaces of the Puritan party of *England*, who seek in all things to limitt you our King, and governe us your people; that it would therefore please your Majestie to appoint some such way by which safely we may approach your Royall presence, that so you may be informed truly of the whole scope of our resolutions, and we more faithfully receive your Commands. In the mean time by a Cessation of Armes of both sides enjoyned us by your Majestie, the lives of many of your subjects may be preserved, and the improvement of many years kept from desolation, and we in duty bound

Z

will

will ever pray for your Majestie's happy reigne over us.

Gormonston, Mountgarret, Ikerin, Dunboyne, David Ep. Ossorien, Upperossory, Emer elect Dun and Conor, Edmund Butler, Christopher Hollywood, Robert Forstall, George King, Edmund Shea, Rob. Nugent, Edm. Fitz Gerald, Piers Butler, Mor. Flaherty, Richard Barnwall, Peter Clinton, Thomas Shea, James Cusack, Tho. Fitz Gerald, John Power, Adam Cusack, Walter Bagnall, Tho. Fleming, John Bourke, Andrew White, Bartholomew Dillon, Tibbot Bourke, Richard Shea, Thomas Porter, John Walsh, Henry Dillon, James Cowley.

NUMB. XXXII. *Extract of a Letter (dated 31 March, 1643,) from the Marquejs of Ormonde to the KING. From Carte's Collec. p. 151.*

May it please your Majestie,

YESTERDAY, the 30th of this Month, I received your most gracious Letters and Commands of the 12th, which I intend this Day to communicate with such of the Commissioners as are in Town, which are all but the Earl of St. Albans. Your Majestie's Letters, touching this Business, to the Lords Justices, were likewise delivered Yesterday to them at the Board, where, according to their Lordships Desire, I produced the * Commission; whereat some there seemed to be much troubled, and (as I am informed by those, upon whose Credit I dare affirm it to your Majestie) after I was gone, expressed their *Discontent*, by saying, that now they valued not any Thing they had in this Kingdom, and that this was a *Step to a full Peace*. And the
com-

* *The Commission to treat with the Irish confederate Recusants.*

committee, sent from the Parliament, *who always sit concealed behind one of the Justices, and sometimes vote, sayd, that if this Commission had come a Year since, it would have saved the Parliament much Money.* This Relation I had from those that were there, on whose Credit I dare write it to your Majestie, for Substance, to be Truth; and in Discharge of my Duty, which bindes me to acquaint your Majestie what Reception your Commands find there, where certainly they ought most to be revered and obeyed.

NUMB. XXXIII. Extract from a Manuscript Book, intituled, *A Brief Declaration of the Government of Ireland; opening many Corruptions in the same; Discovering the Discontentments of the Irishery, and the Causes moving these expected Troubles; and shewing Means how to establish Quietness in that Kingdome, honorably; to your Majestie's Profit, without Encrease or Charge.*---Written by Captain Leigh in the Year 1594, being the 37th Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, at which Time Sir William Fitzwilliam had been six Years Lord Deputy of Ireland. This MSS is to be seen in the Library of the College of Dublin.

To the QUEEN's most Excellent Majestie.

U Nderstanding, most gracious Sovereigne, the proud and insolent Terms the Lords of the North of Ireland doe now stand upon, it maketh me bould to set down my Knowledge of those Partes unto your Majestie: Because I have often debated with the Chiefeft of them what was fitt they should yeild unto your Majestie, and that it was unmeet for them in any Sort to condition with your Highness. In the End (after long Debateing) they seemed somewhat to like and allow of that which I demanded,

manded, as hereafter shall appeare. And because your Majesty may the better judge of the *Causes* of their Discontentments : I have here sett down the *unconscionable Courses* which have been held towards them; which being remedied, and that they may see your Majesty doth no way *allow of the same*; there is no Doubt (notwithstanding all their proud Shews of Disloyalty) but that they may be brought to *dutiful Obedience*, and to yield you that Profit, which neither your Majesty now hath, nor any of your Progenitors ever had : So as that they may likewise have that which they demanded, *being Nothing unfit for your Highness to grant*. In which Discourse, if any Thing shall seem displeasing to your Majesty, I humbly beseech you to pass it over, and to peruse the rest; whereof I doubt not but something will content your Highness, for that it tendeth to your Service and Commoditie.

My Meaning whereby your Highness Profit may arise, is, by *O Donel, Magwire, Bryan Oge O Roirke, and Bryan Oge Macmahone*.

The Demands I made for your Majesty were these, That they should receive your Majesty's Forces into their Countries, and your Laws to go current, as they did in other Places; and some Partes of their Countries to be reserved for your Majesty, to dispose unto them who should govern them, and they to charge themselves with that Proportion that was fit for them to beare.

To these Demands they all yeelded, so that they might have such Gentlemen chosen as they knew would use no *Treachery*, nor hard Measure towards them; but to live upon that which your Majesty would allow, and that which they would give of their free Consents, and to be no further charged; and they would be as dutiful as any other Countrey in *Ireland* now is. And how this may be performed,
I have

I have made bold, with your Majestie's favourable Liking, here to sett down upon my Knowledge, both how your Majestie's Forces may be received with their Consent, and they yield great Profit in Discharge of that which your Majestie allowes to the Souldiers, and the Souldiers to be well satisfied.

The Cause they have to stand upon these Terms, and to seek for better Assurance, is, the *harsh Practizes* used against others, by those who have been placed in Authoritie to *protect Men for your Majestie's Service*, which they have greatly *abused*, and used in *this Sort*.

They have drawn unto them, by *Protection*, three or four hundred of those Countrie, under *Colour* to do your Majestie *Service*, and brought them to a Place of Meeting, where your Garrison Souldiers were appointed to be, who have there *most dishonorably put them all to the Sword*: And this hath been by the *Consent* and practice of the *Lord Deputy* for the Time being. If this be a *good Course* to draw these savage People to the State to do your Majestie Service, and not rather to inforce them to *stand upon their Guard*, I humbly leave to your Majestie.

When some one, who *hath been* a bad Member (*pardoned by your Majestie*) hath heard himselfe exclaimed upon to be a notable Theefe, after his Pardon, and hath simply *come in*, without Bonds, or any other Enforcement, to an open Session, to take his Triall by your Majestie's Laws; if any could accuse him, *notwithstanding his coming in after this Manner*, and without any Trial at that Time (because hee was a bad Man in *Times past*) there hath been Order given, in *that Session*, for the *Execution of him*, and so he has lost his Life; to the great *Dishonour of your Majestie*, and *Discredit of your Laws*.

There have also been divers other pardoned by your Majestie, who have been held very dangerous

Men, and *after their Pardons* have lived *very dutifully*, and done your Majestie *great Service*, and many of them have *lost their Lives therein*: Yet, upon *small Suggestions* to the Lord Deputy, that they should be Spoilers of your Majestie's Subjects, (*notwithstanding their Pardon*) there have been Bonds demanded of them for their Appearance at the next Sessions. They, knowing themselves *guiltless*, have *most willingly* entered into Bonds, and appeared; and there (*no Matter* being found to *charge* them) they have been arraigned *only for being in Company* with some one of your *Highness's* Servitors, at the killing of notorious known Traytors, and *for that only* have been *condemned of Treason*, and lost their Lives: And this *dishonest Practize* hath been by the *Consent* of your *Deputies*.

When there have been notable Traytors in Arms against your Majestie, and Summes of Money offered for their Heads, (yet could by no Means be compassed) they have in the End, *of their own Accord*, made Means for their Pardon, offering to doe *greate Service* (which they have accordingly performed, to the Contentment of the State, and thereupon received *Pardon*, and have putt in Sureties of their good Behaviors, and to be answerable, at all Times, at Affizes and Sessions, when they should be called :) Yet, *notwithstanding*, there have been *secret Commissions* given for the *murdering* of these Men. They have been often set upon by the Sherifes of Shires, *to whom* the Commissions were directed; in sundry of which Assaults, some of them have been *maymed*, and others have hardly escaped. And *after all this*, they have simply come, without Pardon or Protection, to an open Place of Justice, to *submit themselves* to your Majestie's Laws; where they have been putt to their Triall upon severall Indictments, of all which they have been acquitted and sett at Liberty. If this be
a Course

a Course allowable for poor Men to be handled in this Manner, and to be at no Time in *safetie of their Lives*, I humbly leave to your Majestie.

When many notorious Offenders have *submitted themselves* to your Majestie's Mercie, and have been *accepted*, and have had their *Parlons*, and have putt in good Assurance to be at all Times *answerable to your Laws*; the chiefeſt Rebble (whose Followers they were) hath been *countenanced* and *borne out*, by your State, to *robb* and *spoil*, *burn* and *kill* these poor Men, *who did thus submit themselves*. When they have very pitifully complained against that Arch-Rebble and his Complices, of these Outrages, they have been *sharply rebuked* and *reproved* for their Speeches, and left *void of a'l Remedy for thier Losses*: So as, in the End, they have made Petition to have Licence, by their own Means, and Help of their Friends, to recover their Goods from the Rebbls; they have been *rejected* and *utterly discomforted*: Yet *nevertheless* remained *dutiful Subjects*, although they see that such as *continue notorious Malefactors* are in *farr more Safety*, than *they, who depend upon your Majestie's Defence*.

For it is well to be proved, That, in one of your Majestie's Civil Shires, there lived an *Irish Man*, peaceably and quietly, as a good Subject, many Years together, whereby he grew unto great Wealth; which his Landlord *thirsting after*, (and desirous to move him from his Land) entered into Practize with the Sherife of the Shire to *dispatch* this simple Man, and *divide his Goods between them*; they sent one of his own Servants for him, and he coming with his Servant, they presently took his Man who was their Messenger, and *hanged him*: And, keeping the Master Prisoner, went immediately to his Dwelling, and *shared his Substance* (which was of great Value) *between them*; turning his
Wife

Wife and many Children to Begging. After they have kept him fast for a Season with the Sheriff, they carried him to the Castle of *Dublin*, where he lay by the space of two or three Terms ; and having no Matter objected against him, whereupon to be tried by Law, they, by their Credit and Countenance, (being both *English* Gentlemen, and he, who was the Landlord, the chiefeſt Man in the Shire) informed the Lord Deputy ſo hardly of him as that, *without Indictment or Tryall*, they *executed him*, to the great Scandle of your Maſtie's State there, and Impeachment of your Laws.

For if this Man had been ſuch an Offender *as they urged*, why was he not tried by ordinarie Courſe of Law, whereby good Example of Juſtice might have been ſhewed, and your Highneſs benefitted by his Wealth, *which they ſhared*? But to cutt him off, by martiall Law, who was a good Houſholder, inhabiting a civill Countrie, always liable to Law, and laſt imprifoned at *Dublin*, (where all the Laws of that Land have their Head) *was*, in my Conceit, rather *Rigour*, than *Juſtice*. For, as martiall Law is very neceſſarie, and (in my Opinion) ought to be granted to all Governors of remote and ſavage Places, where your Maſtie's Laws are not received, with all other Authoritie and Power ſeverally and ſharply to cutt off or puniſh Offenders, according to the Qualitie of their Offence, untill ſuch Time as the People ſhall become civill and imbrace the Laws and peaceable Living, (for till then they are not to be governed, without the like Measure of Juſtice :) So, to uſe *the ſame*, where the People are civill and obedient to other Laws, is very *indirect*, and favours of Cruelty. And yet *this*, and *the like exemplary Juſtice*, is miniſtered to your Maſtie's poor Subjects there, who (if they have once been Offenders, live they never ſo

honestly

honestly afterwards, if they grow to any Wealth) are sure, by one indirect Means or other, to be cut off.

When there have been Means made to an aged Gentleman, (*never Traytor against your Majestie, neither he, nor any of his Ancestors, and dwelling in one of the remotest Partes of your Kingdome*) to come in, to your State; and that the hard Courses used to others made him demand *Security* for his coming in, which *hath been sent unto him*, by great Oaths and Protestations delivered by the Messenger, (*whereof he hath accepted, and thereupon come in:*) Yet notwithstanding all this promised *Safetie*, this aged Gentleman hath been deteyned Prisoner *six Years*, and so yet remaineth. And his Imprisonment is the only Colour to satisfie your Majesty for a wonderful great Charge, which your Majesty and your Subjects were then putt unto. But his Deteyning, contrary to *Promises*, hath bredd great Fear in all or most of his Sorte, in those Partes, of crediting what your State there shall promise.

When, upon the Death of a great Lord of a Countrie, there hath been another nominated, chosen and created; he hath been entertained with faire *Speeches*, taken down into his Countrie; and, for the Offences of other Men, Indictments have been framed against him; whereupon he hath been found guilty, and so lost his Life: Which hath bredd such a Terroure to other great Lords, of like Measures, as maketh them stand upon those Terms which now they doe.

When there hath been a Stratagem used for the taking into your Majesty's Hands a young Youth, the Heire of a great Countrie, by whose taking his whole Countrie would have been held in Obedience; (the Practize whereof was most good and commendable:) Yet, after the obteyning of him, his Manner of Usage was most dishonourable and discommendable, and

and neither allowable before God or Man.---My Reasons are these: * He being young, and taken by this Stratagem, having never offended, was imprisoned with great Severitie; many Irons laid upon him, as if he had been a notable Traytor and Malefactor, and kept still amongst those who ever were ever notorious Traitors against your Majestie; having no other Counsel nor Advice nor Company but theirs: What Good could come to this young Man for his Education amongst such, I humbly refer to your Highness.

The taking of him, as is aforesaid, was most commendable, and for the Good of the Country, so he had been brought up in this Manner; presently to have been sent unto your Majestie; to have been instructed in the Fear of God; to have known his Duty towards your Majesty; and to have been furnished with all necessarie Parts for a Gentleman; and as your Majestie should have found his Disposition: So, either to have detained him here, or sent him Home into his Country; whose good Example (by his virtuous training up) might have done God and your Majestie much good Service in those Partes.

I have been the more bould to discover unto your Majestie the dishonourable managing of your Service there, by the indirect cutting off of sundrie your Majestie's poor Subjects; *because it pleased your Highness (many Years since) to impart unto me how much you abhorred to have your People there dealt withal by any Practize, but only upright Justice, by your Majestie's Laws and Forces:* Which, being *otherwise handled*, I desire to make known unto your Majestie, and your most honorable Counsell, for Redress thereof.

But I feare that they, who have *well liked that hard Course*, and have been Practizers of the same, will
inform

* E. of Tyreconnell.

inform your Majestie, That those People are *so bad* as it is *no Matter of Conscience* to cutt them off any way *howsoever* : Which is, in my Opinion, for none but *Tyrants* and *beggarly Princes* to imitate. But your Majestie, being of so great Power to offend the mightiest Kings of the World, and to revenge your-
selfe upon them, may, with much Honor, suppress your own Vassals, by your Highness's Laws and Forces, wherewith you are at Charge in those Partes, for that Purpose.

These principall Instruments, as the *Lord Deputie*, and they who have been his *Assistants* in these *dishonest Practizes*, have not only used these bad Means against those poor remote and savage People ; but have done all their Endeavour (so farr as in them lay) to discomfort and discredit your Majestie's best Servitors, living there under their Commands : *Because they misliked to execute such unjust Practizes and Devices, and to allow of their covetous, unconscionable and dishonorable Gettings.*

I am emboldened, most gracious Sovereigne, to declare thus much ; because, not only my poor selfe (one of the meanest in that Place of Service) have been partaker of it ; but some of your Majestie's chief Officers also have tasted the *indiscreet Bitterness* of the two last Lord Deputies ; as, namely, Sir *Robert Gardiner*, in his Place of Justice a most worthy Man, and void of all manner of Corruption ; and Sir *Richard Bingham*, in his place of Government, again whome (even within his own Jurisdiction) Traitors have been suborned and countenanced by them ; and the like in Nature, though not in Quality, hath been done myself. And, as for Sir *Richard*, there was never Man in this Place that hath done your Majestie like honorable Service, without encrease of Charge. For my own Parte, I leave the Reporte of my Service to such as know it and have
seen

seen it: Yet have they not only done me Unjustice there; but have also used their best Friends and Credit here to obscure my good Deserts, and to make me (as farr as in them lieth) a Man to be hated of your Majestie, depressing me with all their might and authority there, and crossing me with all their Ability and Malice here: Not because I have slack'd, or not performed your Majestie's Service at any Time, but that I have, aforetime, and now, discovered unto your Highness their dishonourable Dealings and intollerable Corruptions.

And I desire not that your Majestie should either simply credit me, in this my plain detecting them, nor them in excusing themselves: But if it please your Highness to appoint Commissioners in that Realm, for the Triall; *if I prove not directly all that ever I have here declared, let me lose your gracious Favour for Ever.*

NUMB. XXXIV. *This Number bears Reference to Page 131, 132, of the Memoirs.*

AS it hath been pretended by Clarendon, Carte, and others, that King Charles II'd's having taken the Covenant in Scotland, in 1650, (by which the *Roman Catholic* Religion was to be extirpated, and the Peace of 1648 annulled) was not what provoked the *Popish* Bishops in *James'stown*, and *Galway* that Year, to excommunicate all those of their Communion, who should afterwards adhere to, or assist, the Marquis of *Ormonde*, (altho' these Bishops alledged That, as one of the principal Causes of their having done so in their *Declaration* annexed to said *Excommunication*,) Nay, and as it is pretended by the same Writers that both these Bishops and the Marquis himself were totally ignorant of the King's having

having taken such a Step at that Juncture; the CONTRARY will *incontestably* appear by the following Observations.

1st. The King himself, after he had taken the Covenant, was sensible, that the *Scots* would immediately send Notice to the *Irish Papists*, of his having done *so*, in order to *disunite* them from, and incense them *against*, the Marquis of *Ormonde*: For, in his Conference with *Dr. King* on this Subject, he tells him, “ his Enemies might make a great Advantage by it, to interrupt his Affairs there, and to “ *alien the Irish from him*, although, *says he*, they “ intended to destroy them.” *Carte’s Collect. of the Duke of Ormonde’s Papers*, p. 392. “ The Obligation of the Covenant, (as Secretary *Long* observes, in his Letter to the Marquis of *Ormonde*,) “ not being visible to be reconciled to that, which “ his Majesty was obliged to make good to the *Irish Nation*.” p. 374.

2dly. The Marquis of *Ormonde* himself, in his Letter to Secretary *Nicholas*, so early as *March 5th*, 1648, from *Waterford*; upon hearing Something of the King’s *Intention* to take this Step, writes thus; “ If it shall be, for all this resolved, that the King “ go into *Scot’land*, I doubt not it will be considered “ how *inconsistent* the Covenant is with the Peace “ (1648) concluded here, by Virtue of the Power “ given me, which I am confident I have not transgressed, and there will be Care taken to give *this* “ People no *Apprehensions* that they will be broken with; “ which may drive them to take *desperate ways* for “ their *Safety*, and me into a very hard Condition, “ either to appear instrumental to deceive, and ruin “ them, or else to oppose what Commands the King “ may send me, to shew that I was no Imposter.” *ib.* p. 361. Vol. II.

3dly. In his Letter to Secretary *Long*, *Septemb.* 2d. 1650, the Marquis says, " That he had not received any thing from his Majesty, since his Agreement with his *Scotch* Subjects" (which Agreement therefore, he then knew) " nor from any other, how far the Peace (1648) is concerned in that Accord; so that" adds he, " for Want of Knowledge of what hath passed in that Particular, great Advantage is left to such as are industrious to withdraw this People (the *Irish*) from their Allegiance, by-infusing into them a Belief, that his Majesty, having taken, or approved of the *Covenant*, they are deprived of the benefit of the Peace, and left to the Extirpation the *Covenant* proposes both of their Religion and Persons," Vol. 2d. p. 442. And that these Bishops so early Intelligence of this proceeding of his Majesty, in *Scotland*, and of its Consequence in making void the Peace of 1648, was the Cause of their proposing to the Marquis to quit the Kingdom, and leave the Government of *Ireland* in other Hands; he has confessed in the same Letter, where he says, " To this Proposition of theirs (the Bishops) I returned the inclosed Answer, which, whether it will produce a direct Declaration against me, and an Excommunication of all that shall adhere to me, or not, is more than I am certain of, though I be told it will." ib. p. 443.

Thus, so far was the Marquis of *Ormonde* from being ignorant of the true Cause of the violent proceedings of those Bishops of *Jamesstown*, and *Galway*, on the 15th of *September*, 1650, when their Excommunication was first published, that it appears from his own Letter of the 2d of that Month, that he had been acquainted with their Intention of publishing it thirteen Days before: And whatever angry Things he has uttered against these Bishops, and their Religion

ligion too, on Account of that Excommunication, most certain it is, that, after his Majesty's total Defeat at *Worcester*, when his Affairs were desperate, and (as the Marquis expresses it) "conclusive to all Hopes," he has given his own Opinion of the Necessity of having Recourse to the *Pope* himself, as the only remaining Way to retrieve them, in the following remarkable passage of his Letter to the Earl of *Clanricarde*.

" All the Princes, and States of *Christendom* are at this Instant full of their own Projects, either to enlarge or preserve their Dominions ; and I cannot think of any one that is in Plenty. To make Application to them by several Ministers will be certainly tedious and fruitless : and if it were possible for the King to find Means to send so many, (as I see not whence he will have it) they will be looked upon as so many *Beggars* sent for Gatherings ; and at the last, as *such*, will be sent away with pitiful Alms, which will be consumed in the Voyages. Therefore, to come shortly to what I would be at, wherein you may be concerned, I conceive some one must one must be found that hath Power, if not with all, yet with most *Christian* Princes, and States. Among the *Protestants* there is none such ; and amongst *Roman Catholics*, it is visible the POPE has most of Authority and Persuasion ; and it shall be without Scruple my Advice, and that speedily, that fitting Ministers may be sent, and apt Inducements proposed to him, for his Interposition, not only with all Princes, and States"----here *Carte* breaks off abruptly. Collect. of the D. of *Ormonde's* Papers, &c. vol. I. p. 460, 61.

NUMB. XXXV. *Letter of the Earl of Clanricarde, to the Lord President of Connaught.*

“ **T**HIS whole County (I thank God) remains in perfect Peace and Quietness, and I am very glad to hear the like in the County of Mayo.---I shall desire to know how Charles O Connor behaves himself, and what Opinion your Lordship holds of him, because that I am privately informed, that, before these Troubles began, he was in Treaty of Marriage with my Uncle Edmond's Widow; and if he should chance to come into this County, I should prepare for him according to the condition he is in. I hope that the County of Roscommon will be brought to Obedience without much Difficulty, the Gentlemen of Quality standing firm.”

Clanric. Mem. fol. 12.

NUMB. XXXVI. *Extract of his Majesty's Letter to the Earl of Clanricarde, dated 10 December, 1641.*

“ **N**OW to the end that you, and all our good subjects there, may know that we remain constant in what we formerly resolved upon for the good of our loyal subjects of that province, we have thought it requisite hereby to command you, in our Name, to assure all our subjects there, who (notwithstanding the ill examples there) have remained faithful to us and our crown, that they shall receive the fruits and Effects of whatsoever we have promised and formerly directed, for the settlement of their estates.”

C'ann. Mem.

NUMB.

NUMB. XXXVII. *Extract of a Letter from the E. Clanricarde to the KING, dated 22d. Jan. 1641.*

“ THE first motives and the increase of those
 “ distempers are offered to be proved by the
 “ testimonies of several persons of worth and qua-
 “ lity. --- The late distempers of *Scotland*, the high
 “ proceedings in *England*, and the present commo-
 “ tions of this Kingdom, suffered to grow to so
 “ great a height by your *Majesty's ministers here*, are
 “ matters far above my apprehension ; passages stopt,
 “ and all mens *tongues and pens so bound up from gi-*
 “ *ving any right intelligence*, that I walk in a strange
 “ darkness, &c.” Memoirs.

NUMB. XXXVIII. *Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Clanricarde, to the Earl of Essex, Jan. 23d. 1641.*

My Lord,

“ IT is now reported here, that the Parliament
 “ hath resolved to make this a war of *Religion*,
 “ that no toleration thereof be granted here, nor
 “ no pardons but by consent of parliament ; to send
 “ one thousand *Scots* into this kingdom, and your-
 “ self come over Lord Lieutenant. If such be the
 “ resolutions of *England*, I should-esteem it the
 “ greatest misfortune possible to see you here upon
 “ such terms ; but if you come over as becomes the
 “ person, honours, and gallant disposition of the
 “ Earl of *Essex*, and not as *an agent of persecution*, it
 “ may produce much happiness to your own parti-
 “ cular, and to this kingdom in general ; and, if
 “ I may presume to speak my sense, it will not agree
 “ either with the honour or safetie of *England*, to

“ *make use of such a power of Scots to destroy or over-*
 “ *run us here.* My Lord, recollect yourself, and
 “ draw together your best and bravest thoughts;
 “ and consider, that by this violent proceeding in
 “ religion here, *contrary to the faith of the whole king-*
 “ *dom,* you will put us into desperation, and so ha-
 “ zard the destruction of many noble Families.
 “ The ancient colonies of the *English* planted here,
 “ that with their valour gained glory to the *English*
 “ nation, are now inforced, for want of employ-
 “ ment, *by hard measure of the state, and constant ap-*
 “ *prehensions,* to stand upon their guards, that would
 “ easily be again united to a fair and noble govern-
 “ ment, &c. *Clanric. Mem.*

NUMB. XXXIX. *Extract of a Letter from the*
Earl of Clanricarde, to the Duke of Richmond,
 23 Jan. 1641.

A Fter mentioning the distresses of the kingdom,
 he proceeds---“ All generally discontented
 “ with those that manage the affairs of state here,
 “ whom they charge with secret practising both
 “ here and in *England before the commotions began,* to
 “ raise parties and factions, to destroy their religion,
 “ to divert and hinder the king’s *graces intended to-*
 “ *wards them,* by that means to put them into des-
 “ peration, that they might forfeit their lives and
 “ fortunes.” *Clanric. Memr.*

NUMB. XL. *A Letter from the Lords of the Pale, to the Nobility and Gentry of the County of Galway, dated the 29th of Decem. received the 2d. of Feb. 1641.*

Our very good Lords and Gentlemen,

“ **O** U R just fears, and the apparent practices
 “ of such as thirst after our ruin, have, at
 “ length, brought us to declare ourselves in behalf
 “ of our king, our conscience, and our country.
 “ You, we believe with the same resentment, have
 “ observed how much the majesty of our prince, in
 “ what concerns this kingdom, hath suffered in the
 “ essential rights of it, by the management of the
 “ affairs of this state, and by the parliament of
 “ *England*, as if not content with the blessing of
 “ the presence of our common father, his sacred
 “ majesty, they would force upon us a further sub-
 “ ordination at the same time. You have had a
 “ part also in our grief, to see the distrust and public
 “ upbraidings of the *Roman Catholics*, and the marks
 “ of indignation fixed upon our religion (notwith-
 “ standing *our often candid and sincere expression of our*
 “ *loyalty*) by which we are rendered incapable of any
 “ office beyond being a justice of Peace; and of the
 “ executing of the same place, without swearing
 “ the oath of supremacy, *made penal at the will and*
 “ *discretion of the state*. You, we are confident,
 “ with the same affliction, took notice with us to
 “ how little purpose we sat in parliament; when
 “ redress of our grievances must not only first move
 “ from, but receive the approvement of, those who
 “ commonly were the authors of them. These,
 “ with the late demeanors of some ministers of the
 “ state since this commotion, by cruelly putting
 “ death some of his majesty’s subjects in the county
 “ of *Wicklowl*, as also at *Santry*, and burning seve-
 “ ral

“ ral gentlemens houses and haggards, and taking
 “ away all their goods, without any other cause
 “ than that they were Catholics; as also the inhu-
 “ man advice of Sir *Charles Coote* to the lords justi-
 “ ces, to execute a general massacre upon all of our
 “ religion, which he *offered to perform*, had the
 “ council consented thereto, having induced us to
 “ enter into an association, wherein we desire you
 “ will be pleased to join, that, with an unanimous
 “ consent, we may vindicate the honour of our so-
 “ vereign, assure the liberties of our consciences,
 “ and preserve the freedom of this kingdom, under
 “ the sole obedience of his sacred majesty, whom
 “ God long preserve; and thus being confident of
 “ your zeal herein, we rest,

Your lordship's humble servants,”

NUMB. XLI. *A Letter from the Gentlemen of the
 County of Roscommon, to the E. of Clanricarde,
 dated the 23d. of Jan. 1641. Clanric. Mem.*

Right Honourable,

“ **W**E, in behalf of ourselves, and the major
 “ part of the inhabitants and freeholders of
 “ this county of *Roscommon*, upon serious consulta-
 “ tion, and weighty motives, have made bold to
 “ employ Sir *Lucas Dillon* and Mr. *Hugh Oge O Con-*
 “ *nor*, to acquaint your Lordship with some resolu-
 “ tions which we have taken concerning the state
 “ of the said county, and to offer to your lordship's
 “ view and consideration the causes necessitating us
 “ at the present to rise in arms, and to unite some
 “ number of forces within the said county; and
 “ likewise to signify to your lordship, that in the
 “ great confidence we have in your lordship's zeal
 “ to his majesty's service, and the good of this poor
 “ afflicted

“ afflicted nation, we have made choice of your
 “ lordship to govern and command those forces in
 “ chief; to regulate and order, with the assistance
 “ of council, the affairs of the country; to repre-
 “ sent unto his majesty the heavy pressures and grie-
 “ vances under which we groan; and to solicit re-
 “ dress and reformation from his sovereign goodness,
 “ whereunto is our only appeal, and to none other
 “ under God.”

“ May it please your lordship, we conceive, that
 “ such is the obligation you owe to the country
 “ from which you derive your birth; and as you will
 “ give all the concurrent helps you can tending to
 “ the conservation thereof, and consequently will
 “ correspond with us in all our just designs, being
 “ very hopeful that the rest of the province will
 “ make the same application to your lordship, that
 “ so we may, with hearts and hands, join unani-
 “ mously in one right way, faithfully and loyally to
 “ serve God, the king, and country, wherein we
 “ beseech the divine omnipotence to guide your lord-
 “ ship and us, who are

“ Your lordship’s most humble servants,

HUGH O CONNOR, CHA. O CONNOR DUNN,
 WM. DELAHOID, CHA. O CONNOR ROE, and
 many others.

NUMB. XLII. *Lord Viscount Gormanstown’s Letter, to the E. of Clanricarde, dated the 24th of January 1641-2.*

Clanric. Mem.

My very good Lord,

“ **A**lthough the general dispatch, which, by
 “ command of the lords here, was sent into
 “ *Con-*

“ *Connaught*, might come into your hands, and by
 “ that your lordship might have gathered how we
 “ are necessitated, and how just motives we had to
 “ take up arms; yet I thought it very fit to give
 “ your Lordship a particular account of our occa-
 “ sions and proceedings, that I might establish in
 “ your Lordship a firm affection to assist a cause,
 “ wherein you are equally interested. First, it is
 “ not unknown to your lordship how the puritan
 “ faction of *English*, since, by the countenance of
 “ the *Scottish* army, they invaded the royal power,
 “ have both in their doctrine and practice laid the
 “ foundation of the slavery of this kingdom; they
 “ teach, that the laws of *England*, if they men-
 “ tion *Ireland*, are, without doubt, binding here;
 “ and the parliament hath wholly assumed the ma-
 “ nagement of the affaires of this kingdom as a
 “ right of preheminance due to it; and what may
 “ be expected from such zealous and fiery professions
 “ of an adverse religion, but the ruin and extirpa-
 “ tion of ours? Then your lordship will observe,
 “ how fit instruments the state here have been to
 “ further all instructions to our disadvantage.
 “ When first this action was discovered, most of
 “ the lords towards *Dublin*, to whom the design was
 “ communicated, resorted to the justices for arms,
 “ thinking, at that time, the *Irish* had revived the
 “ old quarrel, and thought to expel us, who these
 “ four hundred years have been possessed of the most
 “ considerable parts of this kingdom; but they,
 “ who, in conformity to the resolution of their pa-
 “ trons, the parliament of *England*, determining
 “ to suppress our religion, put some few arms into
 “ our hands with that caution and diffidence, that
 “ it was a blessing from God the *Irish* had proposed
 “ to themselves *fair ends*; for, otherwise, by the
 “ distrust

“ *distrust of the state*, we might have been compelled
 “ to seek new dwellings.”

“ My lord, the cause is God’s, in the first place ;
 “ and I know you too noble to subject the merits of
 “ your ancestors, and the estate which you derive
 “ from those that have made way unto it over the
 “ bodies of their enemies, to be subject to the dis-
 “ pose of any other parliament than their own ; or
 “ that we should see the majesty of our prince so
 “ far abridged of the rights of it, as that his sub-
 “ jects will presume to cloath themselves in his power,
 “ and limit him how far he shall be just and merciful.
 “ These, my lord, are the grievances we resent,
 “ and redress of them the principal thing both the
 “ commanders of the catholic army and we do look
 “ after ; and we are very confident your lordship,
 “ in so necessary a work, will contribute your assist-
 “ ance, and will value, beyond all respects, the
 “ name of a zealous catholic and a true patriot, and
 “ seek to restore to its former lustre the much obscu-
 “ red majesty of our sacred sovereign. Thus, with
 “ the remembrance of my humble respects unto
 “ your lordship, and your much honoured lady, I
 “ rest,

Your lordship’s humble servant,
 GORMONSTOWN.

NUMB. XLIII. *Extract of a Letter from the Earl of
 Clanricarde, to his brother the Earl of Essex, dated
 Loughreagh, 22d of May 1642.*

“ **I** Conceive it is the desire of the *whole nations*,
 “ that the actors of those crying sins (cruelties
 “ committed by the rabble of the *Irish*) should in the
 “ *highest degree* be made examples to all posterity ; yet
 “ God forbid, that fire, sword, and famine, which
 “ move

“ move apace here, and might be easily prevented,
 “ should run on to destroy all mankind, and put the
 “ innocent and the guilty into one miserable condition;
 “ or, if some young unsettled spirits have been misled,
 “ and wrought upon by misreports, and fallen into
 “ errors, that therefore themselves, and antient fa-
 “ milies should be utterly destroyed, or the King’s mercy
 “ totally bound up.

“ For my expressions concerning the Scots, I did,
 “ and do believe it may be worthy of your conside-
 “ ration there, *that they, when this rebellion began,*
 “ *were above 40, 000, well-armed, in the North of*
 “ *this Kingdom, and might easily have broken it in the*
 “ *beginning; but they have stayed a time of more*
 “ *advantage, to have pay and arms out of Englan^d,*
 “ *strong fortresses to be delivered them here, and*
 “ *more forfeitures of estates.* This I relate as the
 “ observation of knowing discreet persons, and noe
 “ conceptions of mine.” *Carte’s Collect. of the D.*
of Orm. Let. fol. 77. 78.

NUMB. XLIV. *The Earl of Clanricarde to the*
 KING. Sent inclosed in a letter to Mr. Secretary
Nicholas.

May it please your Majesty,

I Have used my best industry for your Majesty’s
 service to find out the first causes and grounds
 of these unhappy commotions, and what might be
 their chief aime and desires that are in action.
 And this inclosed is newly sent me from very able
 and intelligent persons, which, in discharge of my
 duty, I held most necessary to convey speedily to
 your Majesty.

The first motives and the increase of these dis-
 tempers are offered to be proved by the testimo-
 nies

nies of several persons of worth and quality. For the remedies to appease these troubles, I cannot but conceive they raise their demands, that what shall appear reasonable and fit to be granted may be the more easily obtained.

I have likewise made enquiry into their strength, and it is affirmed unto me, that they begin to be well armed and furnished with ammunition. Meeting with no resistance all this time, they have had leisure to provide themselves out of the *English* Plantations and from abroad: neither will they want able and good Commanders.

I humbly offer it to your Majestie's consideration, that a carefull and vigilant eye be kept upon the proceedings and designs of those in the North that first began this business. They are generally of more haughty and ambitious spirits than those in other parts of the Kingdom, the remaines and branches of those that were antiently in rebellion, who lost large and great possessions, and are now grown very strong and powerfull. I express nothing of knowledge or charge in particular against them, but by way of caution, and do hope they with the rest will be brought to a fit conformity to your Royal Will and Government, whensoever your Majesty shall be pleased to send my Lord Lieutenant over, or Commissioners that shall be of honour and worth to informe them of your Majestie's gracious resolution to give them relief and redress in their just grievances, and your mercifull inclinations to appease the distempers with the least loss of blood; though considerable forces will be necessary for your Majestie's honour and advancement of your service, *those that govern here* having given a general discontent and discontent to the whole Kingdom.

There is an Oath of Combination that passeth generally throughout the whole Kingdom, and some of acquaintance and relation to me have offered some defence for the taking of it, demanding why it might not be more lawfull, much more pardonable, for them to enter into a covenant for the preservation of their Religion, your Majestie's rights and prerogatives, and the just liberties of the Subject, than for others to enter into one that hath been an occasion to lessen and impaire your Majestie's lawfull power and interest. My answer was perswasions to some, and commands to others, not to engage themselves in any thing that was not warranted by your Majesty's authority.

It is newly reported here, that the Parliament in *England* are resolved to make it a *war of Religion*, and to grant no toleration thereof in this Kingdom, and some other severe and strict courses for the prosecution of this war.

I am very sorry, (if I may presume to speake my sense, besides Religion, as it has relation to your Majestie's service,) that such declarations should appear, and no considerable forces in readines here : which in my opinion can be of no other use, but the more firmly to unite and combine this whole Kingdom for their conscience and their own preservations ; besides the drawing in forces from foreign parts, who may be ready to assist in this cause, that would not countenance Rebellion upon other pretexts. I hope your Majestie's wisdom and gracious goodness, for preservation of thousands of your Subjects lives, will direct a just and moderate course between those intentions, and the high demands of them here as they were delivered me, that may bring a good and happy conclusion to these unfortunate troubles, to your Majestie's hon-
our

our and glory, and the peace and safety of all your Dominions, &c.

I have presumed far upon your Majestie's patience, for which I humbly crave your pardon and a favourable interpretation, that nothing fallen from my pen may receive any other construction, than zealously and constantly to approve my selfe

Your Majesty's most humble, faithfull

and obedient subject and servant.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

F I N I S.

(270)

our and glory, and the peace and safety of all your
Dominions, &c.

I have precluded the upon your Majesty's pa-
tience, for which I humbly give your pardon and
a charitable interpretation, that nothing is to be
learned my pen more becomingly than to approve my life
than readily and constantly to approve my life

Your Majesty's most humble servant

and obedient servant

CHARLES AND ST. ALBANS

W I N T



